Monarchy Triumphing

OVER

TRAITEROUS REPUBLICANS.

OR THE

Transcendent Excellency

of that Divine

GOVERNMENT

fully proved against the

UTOPIAN CHIMERA'S

of our Ridiculous

Common-wealths-men.

By *G. S.* a lover of Loyalty.

LONDON,

Printed, by *T. R.* for *William Palmer*, at the *Palme-tree*, neere St. *Dunſtans* Church in *Fleet-ſtreet*. 1661.

To the most *Illustrious* for *Vertue*, *Constancy* in *Religion*, and *Heroick Patience*, under the most sharp *Tryals*, and extraordinary *Afflictions*, wherein (in imitation of his truly *Magnanimous Royall Father*) he hath appeared *more then Conqueror*,

To the *Glory* of *God*, *Honour* of *Religon*, *admiration* of *Strangers*, *joy* of *Friends*, *confusion* of *Enemies*, *silencing* of *Scandals*, and the Heart-reviving *refreshment* of his truely *Loyall*, and for his long past, and present *Afflictions*, cordially *Afflicted* SUBJECTS,

CHARLES the *Good*,

Hereditary KING of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*.

Most Gracious Prince,

THat *I so mean and unworthy a* Subject, (*yet a* Cordial wel-wisher *to your* Royall Majesty,

and who is one, among many thousands of your faithfull Subjects, who dayly pray for, and constantly hope, and expect to see your restitution) should addres my self thus to Majesty, *I neither know well to apologize for, nor yet to omit. It is not, most* Illustrious Soveraign, *that I either account my self a competent* Champion, *to mannage your most just, and* Princely quarrell, *nor yet that I think your cause (in it self considered) to need any defense, much lesse so weak as mine; (for whom God protects, he certainly needs none of mans Patronage) nor that I account the* Authors *scurrilous impertinencies (so far as immediately they concern your* Sacred Majesty *) worth the Answer, nor is it an itch*

or

or ambition of appearing in publique, that hath invited me to this Reply, least of all, is it any esteem of, or conceit of worth in my self, that could make me presume to present this inconsiderable mite of my Service to your Princely view, *or that I should dare to imagine your* Majesties *present Afflictions, so to concerne your* esteem *and* Royall worth, *as that any of your* Subjects *might presume more now upon these exercising Tryalls of God upon your* Majesty, *then if you were seated upon your* Hereditarily due, *and* justly deserved Throne, *in* magnificent Splendor. *God forbid that my Breast should Harbour such an unbecomming thought to* Majesty, *yours especially, which*

by your Afflictions, hath beene really made, and apparently is seen more glorious, as Gold by the fire is purified, or a pretious Diamond upon the wheele is polished, and made sparklingly respiendent. Since then, Royall Sir, *It hath beene none of the mentioned Considerations, give me leave with your Pardon to shew your* Majesty *the true Cause, First of this undertaking, and next of this boldnesse of Addresse, in it self a Presumption not to be pleaded for, but only through your* Princely goodnesse *pardonable. How your* Majesties Royall Father was dealt withall *is* Englands *ignominy, your Subjects infamy, Religions Scandall, and the wonder, amazement,*

amazement, and aſtoniſhment of Europe, *and the Actors eternall reproach among all Nations, the Abettors Confuſion, the puniſhment of all our ſins, and the inlet of a floud of miſeries upon us ever ſince. This* deteſtable, execrable Murther, *committed by the worſt of* Parricides, *accompanyed, with the diſclaiming of your whole* Royall ſtock, *diſinheriting your* Majeſties *ſelf, and the reſt of the Royall Branches, driving you and them into* Exile, *with indeavouring to expunge, and obliterate, your never to be forgotten juſt Title, tearing up, and pulling down the Pillars of* Majeſty, *the* Nobles; *garbling, and ſuſpending from place of Power, all of the*

Commons Houſe, *that had any thing of Honeſty, or relenting of ſpirit toward the injur'd* Father *of three* Nations, *and his* Royall Poſterity, *Acts horrible to be imagined, and yet with high hand moſt Villanouſly,* Perfideouſly, *and* Perjuriouſly, *prepetrated, by Monſters of mankind, yet blaſphemouſly diſhonourers of God, in making uſe of his name, and uſurping the Title of* Saints, *in theſe never before* parallel'd, *nor ever ſufficiently to be lamented, and abhorred* Villanies, *this* Murther *I ſay, and theſe* Villanies *were defended, juſtyfied, nay extolled, and commended, by one Mr.* John Milton, *in anſwer to the* moſt learned Salmaſius, *who*

declaimed

declaimed againſt the ſame, with moſt Solid Arguments; and Pathetical Expreſſions; in which anſwer he did ſo beſpatter the white Robes of your Royall Fathers *ſpotleſs life, (humane infirmities excepted) with the dirty filth of his ſatyricall pen, that to the vulgar, and thoſe who read his book with prejudice, he repreſented him, a moſt debauched vitious man, (I tremble* Royall Sir *to write it,) an irrelegious hater, and perſecutor of* Religion, *and* Religious men, *an ambitious inſlaver of the* Nation, *a bloudy* Tyrant, *and an inplacable Enemy to all his good* Subjects, *and thereupon calls that execrable, and deteſtable horrible* Murther *a juſt execution, and commends it as an Heroick Action, and*

in

in a word, whatever was done in prosecution of their malice toward your Royall Progenitor, *and his Issue, or* Relations, *or* Friends, *and assistants, he calls restoring the* Nation *to its Liberty. Yea to make your* illustrious Father *more odious in their eyes, where he by any means could fixe his scandals he would not spare that incomparable piece of his writing, (his* Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ*) but in a scurrilous reply thereto, which he intituled (*Εἰκονοκλάστης*) he would not spare his devout Prayers (which no doubt the Lord hath heard, and will bear) in all which he expressed, as his inveterate, and causeless malice, so a great deal of wicked desperate wit and learning, most unworthily misbestowed, abused, and misapplyed,*

to

to the reviling of his Prince, Gods vicegerent on Earth, and the speaking ill of the Ruler of the People. Now although your Majesty nor your Royall Father, neither of you need vindication, (much lesse that elaborate work of his) nor doth any thing he hath written in Aspersion of his Soveraign, deserve Answer, (absolutely considered) yet forasmuch as he hath in both shewed dangerous wit and wicked Learning, which together with Elegance in expression is alwaies, (in some measure at least) perswasive with some, and because in these last and worst daies, those dangerous times are come, in which many account Treason to be Saintship and the madnesse of People like the inundation of waters, hath for many

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ny years overflowed all the bounds of both duty, and obedience to Superiors, and Subjection with Loyalty to their Soveraigns, but especially because in these your Kingdoms, by due title, and birthright, Allegiance conscientiously adhered to, is reputed malignity; and treachery only, and rebellion hath for many years been the badge of a confiding man, or a modern Saint, the poyson of such books in short time creepes farre, and infects many, who perhaps before reading of them were conscientiously Loyall, insomuch that I account it no Solœcism to affirm, that dangerous, villanous wits misapplyed, have done more mischief with their Pens, then the Soldier with his weapons, to your Majesties cause, for by such Books

and

and pamphlets the inconſiderate Soldier, that before was but your mercenary Enemy, is now perſwaded, that in reviling your ſacred Perſon, caſting off your Authority, and reſiſting your reſtauration, he both ſerves and pleaſeth God, on which Conſiderations dread Soveraign, *I oft wiſht, with ſighs, that ſtill ſome able pen would undertake to confute ſuch tractates, which together with malice to your Cauſe and intereſt, manifeſted dexterity of wit in glozing their Arguments, and traducing your ſacred Perſon, royall ſtock and family, but alas, to my grief, I found all men afraid and deſerting, or at leaſt forbearing with their Pen to defend that* Majeſty, *which God hath for ſo many years ſo graciouſly defended by his*

providence

providence, by which means your Enemies grow numerous, strong, and confident, being so backed, and abetted, by such who make it their Work to fill mens ears with surmises, and false Rumors concerning your Majesties Person, and inclination, as taking for granted your Royall Father was indeed such as he was represented by these defamers and Scandalizers of not only most innocent, but most piously excellent Majesty, and upon this score they have kept out your Majesty thus long, untill according to what the Apostle determinately concludes of such persons as have been your excluders, These evill men and seducers have so daily grown worse and worse, and their impiety, and villany, not to your Majesties Royall

Person

Person only, and Relations, but to the whole Nation in generall, and at length the City of London *in particular, is made so apparent to all men, that now many of your Majesties Subjects, begin to be undeceived by the unmasking of your Enemies, who of late with the Devil have apparently shewed their Cloven Foot, so that your Restauration is generally wished, and hoped for, and expected of all, but such whose Villanies have made them every way so obnoxious, that they stand in fear of all Lawfull Authority, and therefore fear the return of your Majesty, as inconsistent with their safety; which makes them leave no stone unturned to hinder (if possible) this so great expected happi-*

nesse

nesse to these sadly languishing, *yea even almost* ruined *Nations, whose Cure under God lies so in your* Majesties *Restitution, that scarce any but sees it evidently. Yet these* Juglers *of* State, *use their utmost endeavour to cast a Mist before the people, and by* Sophistry *would perswade them,* That that is dangerous for them, which must be under God their only Cure, and sole Remedy, for these (otherwise fatall) Distractions. *Among many of whom, Mr.* Milton *comes on the Stage in post hast, and in this juncture of time, that he may (if possible) overthrow the* Hopes *of all* Good men, *endeavours (what he can) to divert those that at present sit at* Helme, *and by* fair

ir pretenses, *and* Sophisticate rguments, *would easily delude an* conſiderate Reader *into a* be- f, *First*, That the Govern- ent of a *Republique* is in it ſelf, comparably to be preferred ore *Kingſhip*, whether we re- ct *men* as *men*, or as *Chriſti-* . *But Secondly, as the Caſe* ds *with us, he would ſtrike us* a *fear, namely*, That to re- uit your Majeſty, is unſafe, hazardable, at the beſt, and prove dangerous and rui- to all: *Concluſions which a* l Breaſt *would at firſt hearing, abhorre and tremble at*: *Yet he with his* fallacious pre- s *ſeems to varniſh them over*) ardly *to be diſtilled into ſuch*

(a) *eſpecially,*

neſſe to theſe ſadly languiſhing, yea even almoſt ruined Nations; whoſe Cure under God lies ſo in your Majeſties Reſtitution, that ſcarce any but ſees it evidently. Yet theſe Juglers of State, uſe their utmoſt endeavour to caſt a Miſt before the people, and by Sophiſtry would perſwade them, That that is dangerous for them, which muſt be under God their only Cure, and ſole Remedy, for theſe (otherwiſe fatall) Diſtractions. Among many of whom, Mr. Milton come on the Stage in poſt haſt, and i this juncture of time, that he ma (if poſſible) overthrow the Hope of all Good men, endeavou (what he can) to divert thoſe the at preſent ſit at Helme, and d

fa

fair pretenſes, *and* Sophiſticate Arguments, *would eaſily delude an* inconſiderate Reader *into a* belief, *Firſt*, That the Government of a *Republique* is in it ſelf, incomparably to be preferred before *Kingſhip*, whether we reſpect *men* as *men*, or as *Chriſtians*. *But Secondly, as the Caſe ſtands with us, he would ſtrike us into a fear, namely*, That to readmit your Majeſty, is unſafe, and hazardable, at the beſt, and may prove dangerous and ruinous to all: *Concluſions which a* Loyal Breaſt *would at firſt hearing, both abhorre and tremble at*: *Yet* (*as he with his* fallacious pretenſes *ſeems to varniſh them over*) *not hardly to be diſtilled into ſuch*

especially, *who in these times of* Antimonarchicall Principles, *have been before poysoned with* prejudice *against your Majesties* Royal Father, *who lost his* Life *in* defense *of that, which* Sophisticate Scribblers *have since perswaded the* deluded Vulgar, *was attained by his* Death, *namely* Liberty, *the* name *and* pretense *of which* (*but reall* slavery) *hath been pursued with* vast Expense *both of* Bloud *and* Treasure, *so undiscerning are the* Vulgar. *No marvel then, if they be easily deluded by* Specious fallacies, *instead of* Solid Arguments, *betwixt which they are not able to discern*; *which I taking notice of, and meeting with this forementioned* Pamphlet *of Mr.* Miltons, *and*

upon

upon peruſall of it, finding it dangerouſly inſnaring, *the fallacy of the* Arguments *being ſo cunningly hidden, as not to be diſcerned by any, nor every* Eye; *obſerving alſo, the* Language *to be* ſmooth *and* tempting, *the* Expreſſions pathetical, *and apt to move the* Affections, *but withall the drift of it to be of* deſperate conſequence, *namely to undoe (if poſſible) all our* hopes, *to continue our* miſery, *ſtill upon us, nay to ſettle and fix it irreparably, I thought it my* duty *(in theſe reſpects) to undertake this profeſſed* Republican Champion, *and to diſcover his* fallacies, *by which he labours at unawares to inſnare (if it may be done) ſuch who are otherwiſe* Judicious: *And*

this I judged my duty more eſpecially, becauſe it was received by many with Applauſe, and ſtumbled ſeverall whom it could not ſeduce, if not to reject, yet to ſuſpect and be jealous of Monarchy, or at leaſt to lay aſide your Majeſty, as an unſafe perſon, and ſet up another. This (moſt Judicious Prince) was the true Inducement of me to this Undertaking, eſpecially becauſe I ſaw none of a more dexterous Wit, to ſave me the labour, by appearing in your Majeſties (accidentally neceſſary, but abſolutely moſt juſt) Vindication, which though the Accompliſhment of your Princely merits need not in the leaſt, yet your Subjects want it, leſt by the poyſon of the Times they

they be infected, and for the Re-
covery of such, who are stumbled
as to their Resolutions, *notwith-*
standing their Affections *may be*
Loyally Cordiall: *To which end if*
any Pains of mine may conduce,
though but a little, I shall have
sufficient reward *in the satisfaction*
that will thence redound to my spirit.
In addressing to your Majesty *this*
inconsiderable Labour, *Pardon*
Dread Soveraign *my presumption,*
since my reall Intentions *herein*
were not to expect your acceptance
of it, but to beg humbly your Royal
Pardon for this boldnesse, *the first*
being far beyond my deserts, *and*
the other genuine *to your* Natu-
rall Princely Disposition. *My*
chief feare is, (most Gracious

Prince) *left I deservedly reap your* Majesties *disfavour, for attempting a thing, the due performance whereof, (considering the* ability *of the* Author *to whom this is returned in Reply) might call for a farre more* ready wit, *and* solid judgement *then I can without folly ever hope for; however, what is done, I can seriously professe in doing of it, my most unfeigned Desire to have only been to serve your* Majesties *most just* Interest, *and as far as in me lies, to undeceive as many as I can of your Subjects, who by such injurious, and most unworthy Endeavours, to darken your* Royall Lustre *may have been staggered, either in their* cordial Affections, *or unsetled in their*

Constant

Conſtant Reſolutions toward you; for whoſe proſperity, *and ſpeedy* Reſtitution *to your* Juſt Heredi-tary Rights, *and long, and happy injoyment of the ſame, hath been, is, and ſhall be (God aſſiſting) the conſtant Prayer of*

Moſt Illuſtrious *Prince*,

Your *Majeſties* moſt faithfull

And Loyall Subject,

And humble Orator,

G. S.

A

Serious and Seaſonable WORD

TO A

Sober People.

BEfore I come to what I intend ſhall be the ſubject of this enſuing Diſcourſe, I think it very neceſſary to make way for what I ſhall hereafter ſay, by removing in the firſt place whatever in probability may raiſe a *prejudice* againſt what I am about to write, that ſo nothing of *exception* may lye againſt any *circumſtance*, after once the matter of my Diſcourſe is allowed.

Firſt, I queſtion not but *my perſon* will be enquired after, and perhaps ſoon found

out, and known, and it may be wondred at therefore why I do not as well ſet down *my name*, as the *two firſt letters* of it: If ſo, let me crave of thee (Reader) not to harbour any *prejudice* againſt the *ſubject matter* of the following *Treatiſe* therefore, which I did for the end to avoyd prejudice thereby. For I am not ignorant of the *ability* of Mr. *Milton*; whom the *Rump* (which was well ſtored with men of *pregnant* although *pernicious* Wits) made choyce of, before others, to write *their Defenſe* againſt *Salmaſius*, one of the greateſt Learned men of this Age, both for *reality* and *reputation*, who therefore was *Royal profeſſor* of *Philoſophy* (as I take it, but will not be poſitive herein) in the *United Provinces*, and at his *Majeſties* (the *preſent Scotch*, and *Hereditary Engliſh King's*) requeſt, undertook the Defenſe of our *Protoroyall Engliſh Martyr*, againſt thoſe of his *Subjects* who with as much *Treachery* as *Perjury*, and with as much *cruel inhumanity* as both, *murther'd him* at his *own Gate*, in the *face* of the *Sun*, and in the *preſence* of that *God*, and before *many thouſands* of that *people*, by whom, and before whom they had *ſworn* with lifted up *hands*, *that they wou'd with their lives defend his perſon*, *Poſterity*, *and juſt Power*, with many other particulars contained in their

their *Oath*, as may appear by it ſelf, known formerly by the name of *The Solemn League and Covenant*, taken by all the Members of both Houſes that remained ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, after ſuch who had left them were withdrawn, and convened at *Oxford*: Nor ſeemed it enough to them to take it themſelves, but it was by their authority *tendred*, yea *ſtrictly impoſed*, and upon *ſevere penalties injoyned* to thouſands of men, all the Kingdome over, beſides a *Vow* and *Proteſtation* equally ſacred, and binding to the ſame things, which in the *League and Covenant* were upon Oath promiſed, all which notwithſtanding, this their *Liege King* was *murthered*, being *ſentenced* and *executed* by thoſe *very men* that had *ſworn* to *defend him*, the Parliament *Garbled* (as to the *Commons* Houſe) and diſmembred (as to the Houſe of *Lords*) by thoſe *very men* who had *ſworn* to maintain and defend its *Rights* and *Priviledges*, and ſeverall both *Nobles* and *Commoners* loſt their *lives*, being *ſentenced* by an *High Court of Juſtice*, (a *ſtranger*, and contrary to our known *Fundamental Laws*) which was *choſen* and *impowred* by thoſe who had *Covenanted*, and *ſworn* to maintain with their Lives and Fortunes, *the Fundamental Lawes of the Land*. And yet theſe men thus

acting, call themſelves by the name of *Gods people*, and the *faithfull adherers to the work of Reformation*, and the *Good Old Cauſe*, although nothing appear in their *actions*, but *Treachery*, *Perjury*, *Murder* and *Cruelty*. Againſt which *Rebellious hypocriſie*, the moſt learned *Salmaſius*, under the borrowed name of *Claudius Anonymus*, inveighed moſt *juſtly* and *truly*, as well as *Oratorically*, and no leſſe *deſervedly* then *Eloquently*. Which Defenſe of his, no leſſe *judicious* then *well-compoſed*, (as for Language) did render the *deſervedly abominable Actors*, both *notorious* and *odious* among the foraign Nations of *Europe*, the fame thereof, by this Learned mans *Eloquence* (being written in the *Latine* Tongue) ſounding far and neer. To remedy which inconvenience (if it might be done) the *Rump* (which now began to *ſtink* in the *noſtrils* of every *honeſt* and *wiſe man*, this *bloudy butchery* of theirs, *vying* with, yea *outdoing*, not only the *actions*, but the worſt of the *Jeſuites profeſſed Tenents*, and therefore to the *perpetual ignominy* of the *Reforming Proteſtants*, juſtifying the fraternity of *Loyola* and ſilencing the others) make choyce of Mr. *Milton* to be their *Champion* to anſwer *Salmaſius*; who, as may be conceived, not *vulgarly rewarded*, for this ſervice, *undertakes* it,

it, with as much Learning and Performance as could be expected from the moſt able and acute Scholar living: Concerning whoſe Anſwer, thus much muſt be confeſſed, that nothing could be therein deſired, which either a *ſhrewd Wit* could *prompt*, or a *fluent elegant ſtyle* could *expreſſe*: And indeed to give him his due, in whatever he vomited out againſt his *Majeſty* formerly, or now declames againſt *Monarchy* in behalf of a *Republique*, he then did, and doth now want nothing on his ſide, but *Truth*, and the *honeſty* of his *Cauſe*, or *Subject* on which he did, or doth *diſcourſe*. So that it was wiſdome, as I judge it in me, (being to *reply* to ſo *acute* and *univerſally* owned a *learned* man) to *conceal* my *Name*, at leaſt, not to expoſe it obvious at the firſt *view*, that the *prejudice*, which the known *inequality* of the *Antagoniſts*, at the firſt ſight, begets in a Reader, cauſing many *Treatates* to be thrown aſide without reading, being taken away, or at leaſt ſuſpended till the Treatiſe is read; the thing contended about, may be judged according to the weight of the Arguments on either ſide, and not according to the eſtimate of the perſons, allowing then Mr. *Milton* all the advantages which an *acute wit*, *ready invention*, *much reading*, and *copious*

expreſſion will give him, I ſhall only truſt to the *goodneſſe* of the *Cauſe*, for which I plead, in which had there been any proportion or equality, between that which he, and that which I contend for, I ſhould not only *doubt*, but *deſpair* of *conqueſt*, of which as the caſe falls out, I am aſſuredly confident.

But expecting to be known, both who, and what I am, I muſt expect to meet with ſuch Queſtions as theſe: *What need you meddle with affairs not only out of, but ſo far diſtant from your Sphere, your profeſſion much differing from Politicks, and the Concernments of Majeſty being far above your ſtation?* This Objection (if not ſatisfied) becauſe it may much prejudice the acceptance of what I write, in the opinion, and eſteem of many Readers, I ſhall therefore firſt ſpeak to it, before I proceed in my intended task, and whether what I ſhall ſay, prove ſatisfactory or no, I ſhall leave to the judgement of the *Candid Reader*, ſlighting in the mean while the diſſatisfaction of the *obſtinately*, or *raſhly cenſorious*.

I anſwer therefore firſt, that though the *affairs* of *politick forms* are beſides my *practiſe*, yet not beſides my *cogniſance*; and *Majeſty* though above my *capacity*, yet is it not above my *concernment*, for in the latter I am concerned

cerned, both as a *man*, and as a *Chriſtian*, eſpecially if I pretend at all to either *diſcretion* or *conſcience*; as a *Chriſtian* it is my *duty*, and I ſtand ingaged to *pray* for the *peace* of the place I live in, and by *conſequence* to ſtudy and endeavour it, elſe my *Prayers* are but *idle Prayers*: Alſo what I pray for, I am *exhorted* to, as a *duty*, and commanded as a *Chriſtian*, to obſerve *Gods dealing* in the *Return of Prayers*, elſe my praying is but mockery; I am *engaged* then (though I yet ſee nothing but *war* and *confuſion*) to be *inſtant*, and *urgent* with *God* for *peace* and *ſettlement*, and conſequently I am bound to take notice, how farre my prayers are *anſwered*, that I may be *thankfull*, how far they are *denyed*, that I may finde the *cauſe*, and be *humbled* for it, and as much as in me lies *help* and *remedy* it. This alſo *diſcreet policy* will teach me, to *endeavour*, and *hope*, and *pray* for the *peace* of that place in which I intend, (with Gods help) to ſettle my ſelf and my Poſterity; of which if there be no *hope*, it is but *indiſcretion* at beſt, if not *madneſſe* there to ſettle. Let no man therefore blame me for enquiring after the *ſtate of affairs*, that I may ſee the cauſe of our *preſent unſettlement* and *confuſion*, and ſo far as *advice* will goe, to apply (if it lies in me) a *Remedy*. If the

Cauſe be (as moſt certainly it is) the want of a *true* and *proper Government*, and *Governours*, let us enquire how far the *defect* extends, and every man in his Calling, thoſe who are called thereto, by *action*, others (as far as God hath given wiſdome) by *counſell*, do what we can to ſupply that *defect*, and help that *want*.

Adde to this, that we are to *pray* for *Kings*, to *obey*, and *honour* the *King*, and that by *divine command*, and if ſo, then no man can blame me, if I enquire into the *Caſe*, if or no I have by *Divine Right*, a *King* to *pray* for, to *honour*, and to *obey*, and whether or no *active*, or barely *paſſive obedience*, be due from, and required of me as a *Chriſtian*, to thoſe, who in *excluſion* of *him*, have *exerciſed* the *Power* of the *Nation* in which I live for theſe ſeverall years. But concerning this *Subject* I ſhall have occaſion to enlarge, before the end of this Diſcourſe, it may ſuffice here, what I have more briefly touched only for the *anticipating* of ſuch an Objection which may be made: What matters of this nature *concern* me, and which if unſatisfied, might *prejudice* many Readers, and preingage their ſpirits againſt what I ſhall hereafter write.

Hoping

Hoping then that I have *impartiall Readers* now to *deal* withal, who *caſting* off all *reſpects* of *Perſons*, (either comparing one with another, and taking for granted, that one in regard of his eminent *abilities*, and *learning*, and *judgment*, hath the ſurer, ſafer, and better ſide, or accounting the *Subject* of this *Enquiry* aliene from my *employment*, and ſo condemning the diſcourſe, without *peruſal* of the ſame) I ſhall come *ſoberly* and *modeſtly* to take a *view* of Mr. *Miltons ready and eaſy way to eſtabliſh a Free Common-wealth*, &c. Which I ſhal ſhew not only to be the fartheſt way about, but an improbable way to our *Ever ſettlement*; an impoſſible way to our *preſent* or *ſpeedy peace*, and therefore to be *rejected*, as a crooked, and unſafe path to walk in, And in contradiction to his groundleſs poſition, I ſhall evidence cleerly, and undeniably, that *Kingſhip* is our only ſure and ſafe remedy, under God, to *ſettle* our *diſtractions*, Make up our *breaches*, ſecure our *tottering foundations*, unite our *diviſions*, cure our *diſtempers*, and in a word, to ſave us from (otherwiſe) *utter* and *inevitable miſery*, and *ruine*.

And here judicious Reader, let me crave thy *attention*, and beg thy *candor*, for the *Subject* of the enſuing diſcourſe will be not *light*, and *trivial*, but ſuch as concernes, thy

preſent

preſent welfare, and the *future good*, and *welbeing* of poſterity.

Lord! what *Engliſh man*, that can without *ſighs*, and *briny tears*, conſider, and recollect in his mind, what this Nation was formerly, and what now it is, once the *glory* of *Europe*, flouriſhing in proſperity, and *happineſs*, the *pride* of her *allyes*, the *terrour* of her *Enemies*, the *releif* of the *diſtreſſed*, the *ſuccour* of the *oppreſſed*, the *ballance* as I may call it, of the *neighbouring powerful Princes*, *France* and *Spain*, turning the ſcale either way, by its *friendſhip* or *enmity*. How were our *paths* then anointed with *Butter*, and our *hills dropped fatneſs*, untill being *filled* with *good things*, our ſoul began to *loath* the *honey combe*, or like an horſe provender prict, we *kill* againſt our *Rider*, and have gained to our ſelves a *nominall liberty*, but reall *ſlavery*, accompanyed with *infamy*, and are now become the *ſcorne* of our neighbours, and the *Common by-word* of Chriſtendome. Once we had our *Kings* not *made*, but *born*, whom at once the ſunne beheld both *men* and *Princes*, who by a long continuall deſcent, were *ennobled*, and both by *affinity*, *Conſanguinity*, and *mutual benefits*, beſtowed and received, were endeared reciprocally, *they* to the Nation, and the *Nation* to *them*. We had a *ſplendid Court*, *perſons*

of

of honourable extraction, and excellent accompliſhments, a learned, and renowned *Clergy*, flouriſhing *Academyes* and *Schools* of *Education* for youth, A high ſpirited gallant *Gentry*, Rich *Yeamen*, and *farmers*, and *Citizens*, Wealthy and numerous, A royall and powerfull *Navy*, a plenteous and expert *Souldiery*, and in a word we wanted nothing to make us *happy* at *home* and *renowned abroad*. We wanted only *thankful hearts* to God for theſe unvaluable bleſſings, and *wiſdome* to eſteeme and value them and improve, and make uſe of them as we ought. Now we find; not only the *want* of, but the *contrary* unto, almoſt whatever before we enjoyed, having ſcarce any thing left of our former happineſs, but the *memory*, which only ſerves to aggravate our preſent miſerie, (*Dolet hoc, meminiſſe fuiſſe Beatos*,) and that which makes our condition more deplorable, our hopes of recovery, are in a great meaſure cut off, only our *eyes* are to the *hills*, from whence commeth our *help*. And for the *perpetuation*, (if poſſible) of our *maladies*, and to make our *wounds incurable*, our *diſeaſes deſperate*, and our *miſeries irretoverable*, I meet with many *Mountebanks* of *State* who *wilfully* miſtaking our *diſeaſe*, call that which is our (without Gods great mercy) *mortall malady*, a *State* of *happy Liberty*, only

only take notice of some *troublesome Symptomes* (which *Lusous* cannot but see by twilight,) and for these they prescribe a cure, more *dangerous*, yea *desperate*, then the *disease* it self; and this they call a *Free Common-wealth*.

Among many that *shoot* at this *Mark*, I find severall sorts, some are *fantastically absurd*, as Mr. *Harrington* with his *Oceana*, the answer to which will be only ridiculous pastime by a winter fire, others are *religiously foolish*, as he who in imitation of Gods work of creation, would make six daies work of his intended platforme, and on the seventh day, and so consequently all his life, contemplate upon his dotage, his performance in my opinion, deserves to be rewarded with *Midas* purchase. Such, with many others, to the verefying of the proverb *have been shooting their bolts*, and all, though they have in other things differed wonderfully, yet in this one thing have agreed, namely *in excluding Kingship*.

Such as these, like so many ridiculous *State Morris dancers*, I should willingly have left to the answer of some *Common Ballad-maker*, being only so many *Quacks* of *wit*, who betray nothing in their writing but want both of imployment and discretion, the reading of whose *State whymses*, I doubt not, ever

ever produced in any Reader a belief, but of their folly, unleſſe it were in ſome that were as ſhallow, and ſoft-headed as themſelves, But in the mean time, who would not bleſſe himſelf to conſider, that a *Nation*, in which have flouriſhed ſuch *incomparable men*, for *parts* and *judgment*, of ſuch eminent *learning*, able *wit* and ſolid *diſcretion*, and that in all ages ſucceſſively ſince the Conqueſt, and that they making uſe of one anothers *Reſolves*, and *Experience*, with long tryal, mature deliberation, and accurate Caution, had made and provided for themſelves *Lands*, and a *Government*, and bequeathed it unto us, under which we *proſpered*, and were *happy*, in all *civill*, and *religious injoyments*, ſhould now be brought to that *State beggery*, that we muſt have (*Aſinos ad Lyram.*) every *State-Buffon* to be forming *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, into I know not what *Utopia*, for want of a better, or at leaſt a *ſetled* Government, *Quis talia fando, Temperet a Lachrymis?*

True, we had our bleſſings allayed with that which muſt be expected, while we are on this ſide *perfection*, ſome things were deſired in our Lawes, no *Fathers* being able ſo to provide for *poſterity*, as to leave them nothing to do, each Generation hath its peculiar

liar concernments, which makes many *acts uſeful* to *Progenitors*, to be *unuſeful* to, and therefore *repealeable* by, their *Children*, and many of no uſe or *inconvenient* to ſuch as went *before*, abſolutely *neceſſary*, or at leaſt *very convenient* to them that *ſucceed*, we alſo had both *errors* and *deficiency* in the *Execution* of good *Lawes*, and ſeveral things *inacted* which had better been *repealed*, and put in *practiſe*, that more deſireably might have been *omitted*. The *owning* of this, is but to confeſs our ſelves *men*, and that we enjoyed not intire compleat *bleſſednesſe*, a thing not to be expected in this *life*, but to find no *cure* for theſe *deficiencies*, but the overturning of *foundations*, as it argued our almoſt incredible *madneſs*, ſo it manifeſted the *juſt diſpleaſure* of God againſt us, who had *ſurfeited* of *mercies*, that we could not be *content* with what we enjoyed, becauſe we wanted what only he ſaw not fit for us at that *preſent*, unleſſe we had expreſſed more *thankfulneſſe* for what we had in *poſſeſſion*.

But to come to what I intend, namely to *reply* to, and *anſwer* what Mr. *Milton* hath *objected* againſt *King-ſhip*, and belched forth againſt *our hereditary King*, and to diſpel the miſt which he like a *ſtate-ſugler* hath indeavoured to caſt before our eys concerning a

Common-

Common-wealth, I ſhall make plain to every one that is not *wilfully blind*, that we are and ſtand *indiſpenſably* bound to *our Heriditary* KING CHARLES; And that *morally as men*, and *religiouſly* as *Chriſtians*, that the *Injury* done to his *Royall Father* and *him*, is undoubtedly the cauſe of our former and ſtill continued *miſeries*, That doing *Juſtice* to *him*, and his *Relations*, and repenting of that *Great wickedneſſe*, under which the Nation yet groanes, and for which it hath bled, of ſhedding not only *innocent*, but *Royall*, and therefore *ſacred blood*, is the only way left of ſettling our *diſtractions*: whatever guilty men pretend or inſinuate to the contrary, all other waies, are but like *Adams* figleaves, or the *prodigals huſks*. This being proved and made undeniably manifeſt, were enough, but yet beſides I ſhall further demonſtrate, that were that *Royal ſtemme*, (which the Lord forbid) quite fayled, or decayed) nor one left, that could make legall claim to the *Crowne*, and had we come to this condition by Gods providence without any *Sinne* or *guilt* of the *Nation*, much leſſe thoſe *crying ſins*, of *Rebellion*, *Treaſon*, *Perjury*, *Murder*, *Oppreſſion*, *Cruelty*, and that which aggravates all the reſt, *Hypocriſie*. Yet it were the only intereſt of the Nation, and way of its ſettlement, to come

come about, (as ſoone as is poſſible) to its former *Eſtabliſhed monarchy*. This if I evince clearly and undeniably, I hope it may, (God giving a bleſſing,) have that effect upon thoſe, who ſit at the helme, that becauſe the juſtly deteſtable *R U M P*, contrary to *Oaths Covenants*, and *Proteſtations*, and in defiance of their *publique profeſſions* and *declarations*, did barbarouſly kill, and then take *poſſeſſion*, they will not juſtifie that *Murder*, that the *actors* and *abettors*, may ſtill keep the *poſſeſſion*. But why write I ſo, as if there were the leaſt cauſe to fear, that they themſelves will not be as ready to *proteſt* againſt that *horrid vilany*, as I know they inwardly *deteſt* it, and without ſpurring, to *redreſſe* it, as without controverſie they *abhorre* it, I know *Noble Senators* it is in your minds, as you were innocent of that *guilt*, and waſht your hands of it, ſo to *manifeſt* your *innocency*, nay I reſt aſſured, were there not difficulties to wreſtle with from *without*, there would not be the leaſt imaginable let *within*, in your noble breſts. But here is the miſchief; The monſtrous *Villaines*, the *Actors*, in cutting down that *Royall Oak*, had ſuch loppings, and in the *Ruine* of *Majeſty*, they found ſo many, and ſo rich *adherents*, which, either were, or were made neceſſary to be ruined therewith, that they

they were ſtored with *unrighteous Mammon*, with which they made themſelves *unrighteous friends*, ſo many, that for a long time they were able to *juſtifie* by the *ſword*, what they *executed* by the *Axe*, and to maintain by *violence* and *force*, what they *raviſhed* from the right owners by *rapine* and *villany*. Yea they could corrupt the pretended Divine Oracles, and make them either ſpeak only what was good, as the four hundred Prophets did to *Ahab*, Or elſe with *Micaja* to be content to be fed with the bread and water of affliction, untill they learned either to change their tune, or to be ſilent, at leaſt, not to propheſy at *Bethel*. Thus many ripe but pernicious wits were wonne, and faſt ingaged to their party, of which ſome defended them in *polemicall diſcourſes*, as my preſent *Antagoniſt*, others, commended, and ſought to eternize their memories by *clawing, flattering hiſtories*; but that which ſtruck deepeſt, the *Souldiery*, and thouſands *others* were drawn in to an intereſt upon the ſcore of *purchaſe*, to invite to which very cheap penny-worths were ſold, and all to ſecure, and indemnify their *Perjury*, *Treaſon*, and *Murther*, So that I conſider moſt worthy *Senators*, what a duel muſt needs be fought, in each of your breaſts, between *Conſcience*, and *Diſcretion*, *Honeſty*, and *Wiſdom*,

Judgment, and *Policy*. The Consideration of which, hath imboldn'd and doth incourage me, to go on in this task, it being not so proper for your selves, as now being persons concerned, And the more I am spurred on, considering what the most *Learned*, *Judicious*, and *undaunted* Mr. *Prynne* hath written to this purpose during the time of your *forcible seclusion*; to whom (though unworthy to cary his Papers after him) I take it as my honour, to Echo, and I hope for, and humbly beg of you, *Noble Senators*, your *favourable acceptance*, of these my weak endeavours, as proceeding from a *cordial desire* of what (I know) you aim at, the *speedy*, *safe*, and *sure settlement* of these sadly *distracted*, and almost irrecoverably *ruined Nations*.

And now Mr. *Milton* I am at leasure to examine your pamphlet, which I find was written since the resitting of the *RUMP* this last time, for whom it was intentionally provided a fit discourse, and worthy the patrons. *Similes habuit lactuca*. I shall passe by your *prologue*, not because it is not *blameable*, but because what is only there hinted in raked expressions, is more largely prosecuted in the following discourse, where, as I meet with it, I shall not let it scape *Animadversion*.

The

The Parliament of England (you ſay) *aſſiſted by a great number of the people who ſtuck to them faithfulleſt in defence of religion, and their Civil Liberties, judging* Kingſhip, *by long experience, a Government burthenſome, expenſive, uſeleſs, and dangerous, juſtly, and magnanimouſly aboliſhed it, turning* Regal bondage *into a* Free Commonwealth, *to the admiration, and terrour of our neighbours, and the ſtirring up of* France *it ſelf, eſpecially in* Paris, *and* Bourdeaux, *to our imitation.* Thus you go on, praiſing our *Actions* there both at *home* and *abroad*, and our *declarations* and *expreſſions* both in publique and privat e, as teſtifying a gallant noble *Spirit*, and giving hopes of a *Common wealth*, not ſeriour to the *Greeks* or *Romans*. From which premiſes you conclude it, a great *corruption* in *Judgment*, *degenerateneſs* in *Spirit*, *folly* and *madneſſe* in *practiſe*, and that it will be *ridiculous*, and *diſgraceful*, *unſafe* and *dangerous*, for us to return to our old *bondage*, (as you call it) of *Kingſhip*, which *degenerate relapſing*, you foretell will fixe us in our former *miſery* irrecoverably, in all likely-hood or probability, which you perſwade your ſelf and us ought to be interpreted *ungratefulneſſe* toward God, in *rejecting* his *ſignal mercies*, and *deliverances*, at leaſt *neglecting* to make *uſe* of them, and an undervaluing of the *Lives* and

blood of *Engliſhmen*, who with their *Lives* purchaſed and left us in this liberty. This folly of ours you tell us how ridiculous it will make us appear to our neighbours, and render us the common by-word and object of laughter and deriſion of *Chriſtendome*, who boaſted of a *Common wealth*, but having laid its happy foundation, fell into confuſion of *factions*, about erecting it, and ſo never brought it to perfection, which manner of Government, you affirm hath been by the wiſeſt men in all ages accounted, the nobleſt, manlyeſt, equalleſt, and juſteſt Government, and moſt agreeing to Civil and Chriſtian liberty, moſt cheriſhing of *vertue* and true *religion*, not only commended, but more then obſcurely enjoined by Chriſt himſelf, to all Chriſtians with the mark and brand of *Gentiliſme*, by him fixed upon *Kingſhip*. Yea you ſay God gave the *Iſraelites* a King in much diſpleaſure, and imputed it to them as a ſin, that they aſked one. And ſo you go on to interpret our Saviours words concerning the *Kings* of the *Gentiles exerciſing Authority over them* but expreſsly forbidding his Diſciples *to let it be ſo among them, &c.* which you conceive proved beyond contradiction, to be ſpoken to them by Chriſt concerning *civil Government*. And to this precept you judge

no

no form so agreeable, as that of a *Common-wealth*, because in it the greatest, are perpetuall Servants to the publique, and drudges at their own cost and charges, neglecting their own affairs, and yet not *elevated* above their brethren, whereas a *King* you say must be adored as a *Demy God*, whose *expensiveness uselessnesse*, *burdensomness*, and *Danger*, in and to a *State*, *you urge Oratorically*, and *Satyrically* and conclude that if he happen to be bad as sometimes he is, he is a mischief or malady in a State scarcely *remediable*, without shaking, and hazarding the ruine of the whole: The contrary of which you pretend to be in a free *Common-wealth*, where a *Governour*, or chief *Counsellour*, offending, may be *removed*, and punished without any commotion. So you conclude them either mad or foolish, that build the hope of their happiness on a *single person*, who if good, can do no more then another, but if *bad*, may without controule do more mischief then a million of others. Which doting on a *single person* you further condemn, from its childish absurdity, and more then brutish simplicity, citing that place of *Solomon*, where he sends the *sluggard* to the *pismire*, to learne *wisdome*, where you squeeze out an inference, that *they who think themselves, or the Nation undone*

without a King, have not ſo much true ſpirit and underſtanding as a Pilmire. So you go on comparing *Kingſhip* with the ſtate of a *free Commonwealth*, extolling the latter and vilifying the former, as making all under them *Vaſſals*, exalting their *Prerogative* above the *Subjects liberty*, rarely (and then only for ſelf ends) convening *Parliaments*, and breaking them at pleaſure, if they comply not with their Luſt and Intereſt. In which kind of Diſcourſe I finde you *Satyrical*, and yet ſeemingly *zealous* of the *publique weale*, wondring how any dare (as a Chriſtian) to *King* it over his fellow brethren in ſuch a *Gentiliſh* way forbid by Chriſt, to all his Diſciples, who you ſay hath left no *King* in his Church, as his *Vicegerent*, and therefore, infer it is worſe *uſurpation*, for a *Chriſtian profeſſed*, to exerciſe *Regall authority* over Chriſtians, then for the *Pope* to claim Chriſts *Vicegerency* in the *Church*.

You proceed to ſhew the Reaſon why we have been long delayed, and kept from the enjoying of a *Free Common-wealth*, without *King*, *Single Perſon*, or *Houſe of Lords*; which you aſcribe to the frequent Interruptions, and figgaries (in and out) which the *Rump* have had, and met with. And of this you aſſign the cauſe to be the Real Ambition of the

the pretended *Army Saints*, (the chief Commanders of them especially) which you flatter your self, and the Army, was and is contrary to their sense and minde, (to wit the generality of them) at least when they were *undeceived*, and in their *own power*, which I presume, at least, doubt, was never since they *first rebelled*.

You seem troubled that the small *faggend* of the *Parliament* should be called the *RUMP*, but would rather have them *honoured*, as the remainder of those *worthyes* who *freed* us from *Tyranny*; which they have declared, and that (as you conceive) most truly and justly they could not fully doe, nor remain constant to the trust first reposed in them, and secure our *liberty*, but by setling the Nation into a *Free Common-wealth*, for the attaining speedily, firmly establishing, and best ordering of which, you give your judgement, and that in some things Paradoxall: but as you conceive the most necessary and best expedient, to procure much good to, and preventing much mischief in, and managing affairs most wisely, and experiencedly for the good of the *Common-wealth*. And that is that the *Grand Council* of the *Nation* should sit *perpetually*, of which you shew the good and conveniency on the

one hand, and the dammage and inconvenience of the contrary on the other hand, which you illuſtrate by *inſtances*, confirm by *reaſons*, and ſhew ſome Stumbling-blocks you would have *avoyded*, in following your advice, and *Rules* to be obſerved; namely, not to *harbour* any ſuch fond conceit in our *Republique*, as is the *Duke* in the *Venetian*, or the *Prince* of *Orange* and Houſe of *Naſſau* in the *Netherlandiſh Common-wealth*.

Thus in order you come again to compare a *Republique* ſo contrived, with *Monarchy*, to admire the one, and decry the other, by ſhewing the Juſtice, Freedome, Plenty, and Peace of the one, and the difficulties, uncertainties, and impoſſibilities of the like injoyments under the other. You proceed then more particularly to compare them together, in their allowing or diſallowing *ſpiritual freedome*, or *Chriſtian liberty*, and herein alſo you give the *priority* to a *Comm-wealth*; concerning the promoting of which, you adde ſome thoughts of your own, concluding it an abſolutely neceſſary thing for the obtaining or continuing *Civil peace*, and will allow no Government ſo inclinable to favour and protect it, as that of a *Free Common-wealth*, but on the other hand you ſhew the unlikelihood that *Kingſhip* ſhould ever

give

give way to it, as you inſtance in Queen *Elizabeths* not induring *Calviniſme*, or the *Preſbyterian Reformation*, ſhould be ſo much as propoſed to her, during all her Reign, leſt it ſhould diminiſh *Regall Authority*. Between which *Queen* of happy memory, and our moſt pious *Prince*, you make a ſhort but ſcurvy, ſcurrilous compariſon, impudently affirming him to be bad *Principled* from his *Cradle*, *trained up*, and *governed* by *Papiſts* and *Spaniſh* Councils, and on ſuch depending hitherto for ſubſiſtence.

From *ſpirituall* you come to *Civil Freedome*, which conſiſts in the Civil Rights and advancement of every perſon according to his *merit*, and for the attaining of this end alſo you conclude a *Common wealth* far to excell, in oppoſition to *Kingſhip*. And for the reaping the larger benefit in this kind, you propoſe an expedite way in your opinion By having *Legall Juriſdiction* without *Appeal* in each *County*, providing alſo for ſuch Controverſies which ſhall happen between men of ſeverall Counties, that they may repair to the Capital City; to conclude which head, having vomited forth much of your filth againſt *monarchy*, you cloſe your diſcourſe with a *Pathetical Peroration* to the *People*, in which you do briefly hint, and *ſeem* to wipe away

away what *Objections* may be made againſt a *Free Common-wealth*, and ſo draw to this Concluſion, *That if we do return back to Kingſhip, on that ſcore, that* Jewes *would have returned into Egypt, for the ſake of Onyons, Garlick and Fleſh-pots*, (trading to wit, which by our caſting off *Kingſhip*, hath been decayed) *our condition is unſound and rotten, and that we are in the Road-way of all National Judgements and Calamities.* You ſeem at laſt to fear the *ſucceſſe* of what you have written, only hope the beſt, that though theſe lines ſhould move moſt men no more then *ſtones* or *ſtocks*, yet they may out of ſome of theſe *ſtones* raiſe up Children to *Liberty:* That what you have ſpoken is the Language of the *Good old Cauſe*, intended for the *Conviction* of *Backſliders*, and if poſſible to give a *ſtay* or *ſtop* to our *ruinous proceedings*, and to the general defection (as you conceive) of the abuſed and miſguided *multitude.*

This Sir is a ſhort or ſummary Epitomy of what I underſtand by reading your *diſcourſe*, but how far wide it comes from *Truth* and *Reaſon*, I doubt not but before I end to make manifeſt, and ſhall ſhew your intended *Modell* to be unpracticable by us, if ever we expect *peace* and *ſettlement* in theſe at preſent *diſtracted Nations.* Your firſt

ſtating

ſtating of the *Caſe* is brief, and might paſs for current, among ſuch who are, and have been *ſtrangers* to the *tranſactions* of this *Nation*, or whoſe memories are ſo ſhort, as not to be able to recollect how matters have been carryed on by, and from the beginning of this *Parliament*, but to others, the *fallacy* may appear at the firſt reading. Was it the Parliament of *England* that aboliſhed *Kingſhip*, and *Kingly Government*? Where were the *Lords*? Did they concurre in that *Act*? Certainly no, for they by the ſame *power* and *Authority* (if that can be called *Authority* which wants *Juſtice* to ſupport it) were aboliſhed likewiſe, about the ſame time, and by the ſame Engagement afterwards, that excluded *Kingſhip*, cut off from having any ſhare in *Government*: And if they concurred not in that Act, how can any man (without impudence) affirm, that it was the *Parliament* of *England* that aboliſhed *Kingſhip*? Or can the *Parliament* of *England* conſiſt without a *Houſe* of *Lords*? It is moſt evident, that at the firſt ſitting of this *Parliament* it conſiſted of both *Lords* and *Commons*, who yet made no *Parliament*, without him, with whom they were to parly, or conſult, and that was the *King*. But it is not my task to diſcourſe as a

Lawyer,

yer, but as an *Orator* intending to inquire into the *truth* and *Reason* of things, and not to determine how the Case stands in point of Law.

Though *Lords* had been *useless* and *unnecessary* to sit as a *House*, and assist in *Government*, yet they were *absolutely* of use, to the making of an *English Parliament*; or else shew me any Parliament that ever was in *England* without them. You confesse that the *Parliament* of *England* was assisted by a great number of *faithfull Adherers* to them, in the defense of *Religion* and *Civil Liberties*, and were not they as well the *Peers* as the *Commons*? By what Power were *Armies* first raised, *Commissions* granted, and *Moneys* levyed, but in the name of *both Houses*? If the first making of Warre, (which judicious and conscientious men judge *Rebellion*, but I shall wave that Enquiry, nor hereafter meddle with it) were for the defence of *Religion*, &c. the *Lords* as an *House* can claim as great a share in the glory of it, as the *House of Commons*. Yea if to have the honour of first kindling the fire, deserve prayse, *One Peer*, with *Five Commoners*, must share together. Was not the case of *Kimbolton* once accounted of as high merit as that of *Hesselrig* and his fellow-partners? And the *Privi-*

ledges,

ledges of *Parliament* equally pretended to be concerned in the defending of them all? Or if the *management* of the *Warre*, deſerve commendation, (which you call *the aſſiſtance of the Faithfull*) did not the *Lords* perſonally act as highly, and adventure as far as any *Commoner*? Or did not the *faithfulleſt*, (for I obſerve you uſe the Superlative degree) appear before the *new modelling* of the *Army*? True, there was no *rebelling* againſt all Authority, *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* at once, till that time. Sure, Sir, thoſe *Lords*, who were forward with the forwardeſt, *adventured* their *lives*, *ſpent* their *bloud*, as well as others, will have little incouragement to *help*, *manage*, and *carry* on ſuch another *War*, if we ſhould finde occaſion to fight all over again, that hath been fought, as you after inſinuate, unleſſe they may have more thanks for their labour. You muſt needs grant, that the *Warre* at the beginning was *raiſed*, and from the firſt *carryed* on, for the *defenſe* of *Religion* and *Liberty*, or elſe it was moſt *hypocriticall* and *barbarous Rebellion*, and all the *bloud* ſhed therein *inexcuſable murder*: And if it were for the *defenſe* of *Liberty* and *Religion*, from the beginning, without doubt every rationall man muſt conceive, that they who at firſt *eſſed* themſelves in the War

vigorouſly,

vigorously, and stirred up others to it *sedulously*, and continued *constantly*, in the name of the *Parliament* of *England*, with the distinction of *both Houses*, did never imagine the *Commons* alone to be a *Parliament*.

But why speak I only of the *House* of *Lords*? Did the House of *Commons* abolish *KINGSHIP*? Were not above three parts of four of them, not only not *consenting* to, and *active* therein, but *protesting* against, and *abhorring* it?

So that in truth, it was not only not the *Parliament* of *England*, that did it, but neither the *Lords* nor *Commons* House that either *acted* in, or *consented* to it, but a *factious Combination* of some of the *rotten Members* of the *House* of *Commons*, who *assisted* by the *factious* and *rebellious* part of the *Souldiery*, without *consent* of, and in *opposition* to their *Fellow-members*, contrary to the *sense* of the whole *House* of *Lords*, not minding their former *sacred Vowes*, and the scandall which the breaking of them would bring upon the *profession* of *Religion*; *murdered* their *KING*, divided his *Estate* and *Revenue*, among themselves, and their Abettors: and to secure themselves from *justice*, for these *Enormous Villanies*, Vote down both *King* and *Kingly Government*, turn out of doores the

House

Houſe of *Lords*, and all their *Fellow members*, and in their places *ſeat* themſelves, and *vote* themſelves the *Parliament* of *England*, and this they *vote* (as they call it) into a *Free Common-wealth*, to which they endeavour by Conqueſt firſt to *ſubject*, and then to *unite Scotland*, and *Ireland*. Now how juſt and how magnanimous this *action* was, let any rational man judge.

'Tis ſtrange, that if it were ſo, and that thoſe *Remnant* of *Patriots*, who *delivered* us from *thraldome* (as you are pleaſed to miſcall them) could no otherwiſe ſecure us from *ſlavery* and *bondage*, but by *aboliſhing Kingſhip*, that no more of the *Commons* nor any of the *Lords Houſe*, could *perceive* it but themſelves. And how came they ſo late to ſee it? Strange, that their eyes were not opened ſo well before! Or did they ſee it before, and yet *ſwear*, and compell others to *ſwear*, to maintain that with their utmoſt hazard of both Lives and Fortunes, which they had found and experimented, to be *burdenſome*, *uſeleſſe*, *expenſive*, and *dangerous*, and upon juſt grounds to be *aboliſhed*? Are theſe things think you, conſiſtent, Mr. *Milton*, how long experience had they of the *dangerouſneſſe*, &c. of *Monarchy*, before they *aboliſhed* it? be pleaſed to tell us, if before they

Covenanted,

Covenanted, and *proteſted*, the more *Villains* they to *ſwear*, if after it were good to be informed when; Were they *faithfull Patriots*, if they *knew*, and had *experienced* ſuch a thing, and yet never *diſcloſed* their mindes to their *Fellow-members*, untill upon a *Treacherous ſurprize*, they were turned out of dores by their *mercenary ſervants*, the *Army*? Are theſe the *acts* of men who are likely to *ſecure* our *Religion* and *Civil Liberties*?

Was it a *Common-wealth* that was *fought* for, or a *Free Parliament*? How then comes a *Common-wealth* to be the *Good Old Cauſe*? Was it once in nomination at the firſt taking up of *Arms*? Was not the thing pretended, the *removing* of *ill Counſellours* from about the *King*? and was there no way to do it but to ſend him thither where no *evil counſel* can have *acceſſe*, even to *Heaven*? Did they not *vow* to make his *Poſterity* as well as him *glorious*, and was there no way to it, but to *rob* the *Heir* of his *Earthly Crown*, that he might have the more leiſure to contemplate upon his *Heavenly one*? No way to make him a bleſſed and happy *Prince*, but by intitling him *ipſo facto* to one of the ten Bleſſednesſes pronounced by Chriſt, among others, to thoſe of whom men ſpeak *all Evil falſly*, and *revile* them? Bleſſed *God*! if

if theſe be *Saints*, where ſhall we find *Wicked* men?

But why Sir do you call *Kingſhip* a *deteſted*, and once *abjured thralldome*? Who *abjur'd* it, and when? I am ſure that there was ſcarce a *Rumper* in ten, but *ſware* to *maintain* and *defend* it, beſides the *Oath* taken by all *Members* at their firſt *admiſſion*, how I pray then, and when, was this *Oath* of *abjuration* taken, and by whom? Lately, one, *Praiſe God Barebone* preſented a Petition to that purpoſe, which made his houſe appear like a to Bawdy houſe (for broken windowes) twice in a few dayes. I hope, Sir, you have not a private Diſpenſation among you, to *ſwear* to *maintain* and *abjure* the ſame thing at your pleaſure and as oft as you pleaſe.

I doubt not, but moſt of thoſe who firſt *aſſiſted* the Parliament, had they heard but the leaſt pretenſe this way from thoſe who called them to their aid, would have very hardly contributed the leaſt Money to their *ſupply*, nor the leaſt help to defend their *quarrel*. Then it was for the *Parliaments ſervice*, in *defenſe* of the *KING*, and his *Poſterity*, that all was pretended to be done; and now can we believe the Originall intention to be (all thoſe ſacred pretenſes notwithwithſtanding) to *deſtroy* the *King* and his *line*,

and to *abjure Kingship*, or *Monarchical Government?* God forbid, this is (certainly) no other then a *new Invention*, suggested by the *Old Serpent*, and fomented, by his Instruments to the *Dishonour* of *God*, whose *sacred Majesty* they *appealed* to, and *swore* before, and the *reproach* of the true *Protestant Religion*, in the profession and sincerity of which (made by, and immovably fixed in the hearts and breasts of thousands of this (once famous) Nation) *England* was *exemplary* among all her Neighbours, but now, by this *act* of some *few* of her *perjur'd*, yet *Saint professing Sons*, made *infamous*, yea *abhorred*, and *detestable* among al that live round about her. I grant you, Mr. *Milton*, that this action of ours (for ours we must call it, till the Nation be vindicated from it, or punished for it) as it was a *damnable president*, so it was *commended* to and *laboured* very hard to be made practicable and practised in our Neighbouring Kingdome *France*, so willing are seared Consciences in sinne, to involve as many as may be in the same guilt with themselves, if not for their justification sake, yet to keep them from open Reproach.

I easily believe Mr *Milton*, that nothing was wanting on the part of our *Regicides*, that

th

the ſame was not only meditated and attempted, but brought to perfection and put in execution in *France*, being begun, (as you ſay) in *Burdeaux* and *Paris*. But without doubt the proteſtant intereſt, never had ſuch a blow among Chriſtians by profeſſion as they had by this Act. How was this formerlie the blot of the *Jeſuits*, that they taught and allowed the *murther* of their *Princes*, if once *excommunicated* by the *Pope*? And yet, how aſhamed were the *Papiſts* ever to own ſuch a tenent, although they might conſent to ſuch a practiſe. and be guiltie of it. How were the *Gunpowder Traitors* branded by our *divines* and *Profeſſors*, with marks of *infamy* upon this ſcore? Yet now behold a *Proteſtant King*, not *treaſonably* conſpired againſt, but *murdered*, and that not deſigned and brought about by a private unſeen blow of *Gunpowder*, or *ſtab* with a Dagger from a private hand? as *Engliſh* King *James* was deſigned for deſtruction, by our Engliſh *Papiſts*, and French *Henry* was actuallie ſlain by a *Revilliack*. But, ſtand amazed O ye *Heavens*! for ye beheld it, bluſh O thou great light of the *day*: which then ſaweſt it, this *Proteſtant*, *Virtuous*, *Pious KING*, was ſolemnly cut off, at his own *doore*, by his *own Subjects*, who clained then the name; and uſurped

then the *power*, of the *Repreſentative Body* of the *Engliſh Nation*, the PARLIAMENT or *Supream Authority* of ENGLAND. Nor did they for this *Action* to excuſe it, plead ſuch a thing as the Popes pardon or diſpenſation, as the *Papiſts* did, acknowledging in that ſuch an act to be, (in it ſelf) *unwarrantable*, and *unjuſtifiable*, but they ſtile themſelves the only true Aſſertors of the *Peoples Liberties*, and the *faithfulleſt* part of *Englands* Repreſentatives, and therefore the *Common wealths* moſt conſtant and firm *Patriots*. Nay no man could have any protection from the *Lawes*, that did not by *Engagement* juſtifie this *Act*, no *Miniſter* injoy his *Living* unleſſe he give his poſt conſent to that, which but ſix years (at moſt) before, he had (to avoid the like penaltie) *Covenanted*, and entred into League, *Vowed*, and *Proteſted* againſt, *Solemnly*, and with hands lifted up to the moſt *High God*. This a man may believe (if he will be an *Atheiſt*,) to be Englands reſtitution to its *Religion* and *Civill Liberties*, but he of diſcretion that reallie believes ſo, may eaſilie be brought to yeild *Light* to be *Darkneſs*, and *Darkneſs Light*, Conſcience, and the *fear of God*, *expectation* of *happineſs* in *Heaven*, and *fear* of *Hell*, to be onlie *juggles*.

Now

Now what *Prince*, (that is not mad) would truſt a *Proteſtant* in *power*, nay *tollerate* him in his *Dominions*, if theſe are *Proteſtants* indeed? who are neither to be believed when they *ſwear*, nor *confided* in, if they can but get an opportunitie; That will *ſwear Alegiance to*, and *murther* the ſame *King*, and that not ſecretlie but openlie, nor ſeek to excuſe it when done, but juſtifie, *plead* for, *extol*, and *commend it*, as a *performance* worthy *renown*, and fit to be traſmitted down as an *example* to *poſterity*. But let all who truly fear the Lord, ſay of theſe as *Jacob* of his two bloody Sons *Simeon* and *Levi*, who kild only their Neighbour Idolatrous enemies, who had deſerved their hate, by raviſhing their Siſter, and were part of the Nations, that were to be deſtroyed utterlie by *Jacobs* ſeed, yet with whom they (in colour at leaſt) were then about to make a league of friend-ſhip, and among whom they lived peceably. *O my ſoul come not into their ſecrets, and to their counſailes, mine honour be not thou united!* for in their *wrath* they *ſlew* their *Soveraign Lord*, the *King*, and in their ſelf will plucked up (to their utmoſt) the whole *Royal root*, and dugge down the wall of *Government*, and *deſtroyed* the *foundations*, the *Lawes*. Boaſt not then Mr. *Milton*, how taking this example was with the

like ſpirited Mock Proteſtants, but really dammable Rebels in *France*, for from ſuch a ſpark as this was kindled that fire, which formerlie waſted, and conſumed the *Hugonites* of *Paris*, and of late the *Waldenſes* in *Piedmont*, and *Savoy*. *Guilty* art thou, O *treacherous! Perjured! Apoſtate Rump!* of all this bloud, the former of which thou haſt *juſtified*; and the latter been *inſtrumentall* in cauſing to be *ſhed* Bleſſed be God who hath *clipt* your *wings*, *Pared* your *Hornes*, *Broken* your *Talons*, by which you *ſoared* above the reach of *juſtice* and *puſhed* at, and *griped* moſt horribly, whoever durſt but ſpeak or write againſt your *execrable murthers*, *rapines* and *Sacrileghous Villanies*. And I hope that *Chriſtian Princes* will in time be made to underſtand, and given to ſee that this and the like actions of yours are not *conſonant* to the *tenents* of any true *Proteſtants*. Be confounded then and for ever ſilenced, ye *ſelf-condemning wretches*, who when at the beginning of the *warre*, ſuch a deſign was charged upon you by the *Royall yall partie*, you *rejected* it with *imprecations*, and were ſedulous (with the reſt of your *fellow members*, of the *Commons houſe*, and the whole *houſe* of *Peers*) to acquit and clear your ſelves from ſuch an *aſperſion* (as you then called it) with *deteſtation*, yea I am confident

confident that then many of you (before your consciences were since by monstrous impieties *cauterized* and rendred *past feeling*) did cordially abhor, what you since have *acted* and endeavoured to compel all men (*ministers* especially) to approve of, and justifie, and by a *post engagement*, to consent to. In opposition to former *Covenants* and *Protestations* to the *contrarie*, I do verily believe: I say, that then you would have declard against it, with *horror*, and *trembling*, however the Devil, *bad counsel*, and worldly gain have since insnared, and corrupted many of you.

Come we from what you have done in *our name*, to take a survey, of what you have *procured* to us thereby, for although the end is but a fallacious rule to *judge* actions by, nor is it wisdome to determine concerning the thing done, that it is *good* or *bad* by the event, and success of it, yet it is a perswading motive, to *repentance* and *amendment* of such *courses*, which we are convinced to be *evil*, when we find the smart of them, and see evident our condition to be *bad* at *present*, and *worse* and *worse* in likelyhood to be expected every day. It is likewise a good conviction, and very suitable to, and seasonable for such who will not believe, but these our *present miseries*, are only the fore-

running throwes of a *glorious Birth*, and off-ſpring, of which they ſeem to perſwade themſelves, and would have us to believe that we are not only in *Expectation*, and *certainty*, but in the *preſent fruition*, and *poſſeſſion*, to wit *Liberty*, both *religious* and *Civil*, in reſpect of which *Kingſhip* is a *Yoak* of *Bondage*, *thraldome*, *Vaſſalage*, *ſlavery*, and *infelicity*. Good *Lord!* was ever ſuch ridiculous folly, ſuch wilful madneſs known or ſeene! Have we any *Liberty* in *civil things*, but if we pleaſe to antidate our *Ruine* and *beggery*? to ſpend all one year or two, before our new found *Patriots* of, never before heard of, *Liberty* ſqueeze all out of us, and get all from us. Have not the *Keepers* of our *Liberties*, like *theet iſh Prometheus*, dealt with our *Liberties*, as he did with *Pandora* Box, Let fly among us only plagues and miſeries, and now they keep all cloſe, when there is left only *hope*, (and ſcarcely that) in the bottome? Where is there any *reality* of *Liberty* in any of our injoyments, either *civil* or *religious*? and yet that, Oh that! is pretended as a ſufficient reward and price of our laſt *bloud*, and expended *Treaſure*. In our *Courts*, what unſet tlement, and upon every change, what turning out of office, whoever would not comply with the *horrible villanous practiſes*, by which each

eich intereſt ſupplanted another? Look backward to the firſt gaining of this *Nominal Freedome*, and you ſhall find many Judges diſcarded, *Sergeants* at *Law* layd aſide, *Counſellours* their Gownes ſtript over their eares; *Attorneys* turned from the Barre, *Sollicitours* and other attendants on the Law made uncapable of either publique imployment, or preferment, in a word all *Officers* of the *Law* in *Civil* as wel as *Common courts* of *Judicature*, put out of place, and by conſequence cut off from all means of lively-hood, upon no other ground, then becauſe their *Conſciences* would not permit them ſo farre to ſleight their duty of *allegiance* (to which they were likewiſe engaged, by a *ſacred* and *indiſpenſable Oath*) as to take another *league* and *covenant*, a *vow* and *a proteſtation* in their judgments *Croſſe* to [illegible] former; here was *Liberty*, (if ever) with a plague, and vengeance, I doubt not but this with other things, hath been the cauſe of the many *Judgments* ſince that poured forth, and ſtill continued upon this *perjured Nation*. How was the *Solemn League* and *Covenant* obtruded upon all men, that had any thing to be *plundered of*? And what *Liberty* had they in caſe of *refuſal*? except we will account turning out of place, of either *honor* or *profit*, the *Impriſonment* of mens perſons,

persons, for a long time, with *barbarous cruelty* during their imprisonment; the violent taking away their estates, by *Sequestrators* to be *libertie*. No man could be permitted to crosse the Seas in almost any capacity, whether of Merchant, or Factor, or passenger, unlesse he would first swallow this potion. Where then (I would gladly be enformed) lay our *Liberty?* Unlesse we will confess, (and that God knowes and we have all felt it is the truth,) with *Cicero*, *Nomina rerum perdidimus, jamque licentia militaris, libertas appellatur.* We have left the true names of things since now the *Souldiers petulancy*, is call the *Peoples Liberty*. And if we had such cause to complain of the *beginning* of these our distracted calamities, when you seem to give the *Army* this *Character*, that they were undeceived, and in their own power, with what reason may we lament and bewail the *following times* and *changes*, which have been ever since. And yet the peoples liberty hath been the thing cryed up Continually. What think you Sir of the *Engagement?* what *agreement* hath it with the *Covenant?* And yet that must be taken, *or no* judge must continue in office, no *Army Officer* in Command, no *Minister* must preach, nor *School master* teach School, nay, nor any man have the benefit of

of the Land either as *Plaintiff* or *defendant*. And call you this *Liberty*, Mr. *Milton*? I confesse the tamenesse of our *English Nation*, beyond any former (either Antient or modern) president, gave the *Rump* liberty of perpetrating and persisting in never before heard of *Villanies*, with as much *impunity* as *impiety*, but accursed be that *Liberty* from the Lord which will only give a company of *Villaines* liberty to be as much *Bloudy*, *perjurd*, *murderers*, and *unjust oppressive Robbers* as they please, but abridge all other of former means of living, unlesse they will *assent* to and approve of these *actions*, or else *appear* so. The end of all this is *impoverishment* of the *Nation*, losse of *Trade*, *decay* of *Ingenious Arts*, and *manufactures*, the ecclipsing of our former credit, esteeme, and reputation in the eys of our neighbouring Nations. That we may truly say of *England*, *Our glory long since is departed from us*. How did the *Rump* first by secret complyance and complots, *animate* the aspiring Commanders in the Army, and then betray all their Counsels to them? So that the Great Counsell of *England*, the *Glory* of our *Nation*, the *foundation*, and *fountain* of our *Laws*, having, first made *warre* with their *KING*, and those who stuck to him constant and faithfull, were soon divided among themselves

themselves, and the greater part thereof at last *betrayed*, and *turned* out of doors by *a small number* of their own fellows, who with *a mutinous Army*, to back them assume the *Supream Authority* of *England* into their own hands, and *declare*, and *act* accordingly, cashiering the house of *Peers*, cutting off their *KING*, disabling his *posterity*, and to secure themselves in this unparelleld *treason*, and *rebellious insurrection*, form an *Engagement*, to be true to the *Common wealth* as it was then *Established*, without a *KING* and *House* of *LORDS*. This and these like actions and declarations, you call *just*, *generous*, and *magnanimous*, and such as gave hopes of a *glorious rising Common wealth*, this you call our happily fought for and successfully attained *Liberty*, but I with more truth and reason, know and shall justifie, these actions to be *rebellious*, *perfidious*, and *treacherous*, the *declarations* to be but heraulds for *infamous perjury*, and *discovered* men made *impudent* by *victorious successe*, who with faces of brass, blushed not at what the Sunne could not but blush, who declare their sinnes like *Sodom*, and think *Villanies*, (because prosperous) are heroick actions and noble performances. What palpable prevarication is it (Sir) for you to give this for the happy End of the many and bloody

bloody *battels* and *ſkirmiſhes*, which were fought between the *two Armies* of the *King* and *Parliament*? Was the warre begun, on ſuch a deſign, or with that *pretence*? If not, when came it to be the *cauſe*? Mr *Prynne*, in his *hiſtoricall relation of things* as they were acted (in his vindication of the ſecluded Members) cites their own *votes, conſultations, reſolves*, and *meſſages, to*, & from the *chief Officers* of the *Army*, and by all makes it apparent, that the *Houſe* of *Commons* were ſo farr from making that to be the mark ſhot at in their conteſt with the *King*, that many daies were Elapſed before they could make up the *Quorum* of a Houſe of *Commons*, nor was the number of *Rumpers* to the very laſt, greater then to argue our folly and miſery, and to aggravate their impudent imperiouſneſſe, in curbing a Nation (formerly ſo famous for valour ſo long a time,) and of our ſhame this is none of the leaſt part, that now hopes of our *deliverance* (through Gods great mercy) is appearing, one ſhould have ſo much confidence as to appear in publique, and to court us not only to keep on, but be in love with our preſent ſhackles, and to declaim againſt our formerly enjoyed, moſt happy *Government* of *KINGSHIP*. And as this fag end of the *Engliſh* Houſe of *Commons*, was inconſiderable

rable in number; ſo was neither their quality likely to argue an excellency in what they ſet up, beyond what we before were *governed* by: for firſt, the two houſes after the end of the warre, had frequently treated with the *King*, and alſo had upon a late (yea their laſt) *treaty*, determined and concluded, that his *Majeſty's* anſwers were ſo farre *ſatisfactory* as to proceed upon the ſettlement of the *Nation*. This laſt treaty was occaſioned by the *Petition* of the *Citizens* of *LONDON*, the *remonſtrance* of ſeverall *Miniſters*, the *addreſſes* of many *Counties*, with ſeverall thouſand ſubſcriptions in concurrence with that *Petition* of the *Lanioners*. To this the ſad diſtractions by a long bloudy warre did ſeeme not only to agree, but alſo to *inforce*. Well, the *two Houſes* being *petitioned*, and *addreſſed* to, *remonſtrances* made and ſent them, Reaſon inviting, Religion binding, the neceſſity of the *Nation* calling for it, *petitions* preſſing, in a word, no other ſafe, diſcreet, honeſt way appearing, *treat* with the *King*, God ſo orders his heart, that they receive, (if not plenary ſatisfaction) yet ſo much as they vote his *Majeſties* anſwers a ground on which to proceed to the ſettlement of the *Nation*.

The *RUMP*, by help of the *mutinous Army*, diſmember *four* parts of *five*, of their *Fellow-*

Fellow-members, and *unhouſe* all the *Peers*, then Vote againſt this *Vote*, as a *breach* of *Truſt* in the *Voters*, not conſidering they were the *major* part of the *Houſe*, but preſuppoſing themſelves the *better* part that had thus *outwitted*, and by Force *ſecluded* the other *greater*? But if ſo, it is ſtrange, that the number of the *RUMPERS* was ſo long a making up, and ſo ſmall at laſt. Good God! what a condition was this Nation come to, that of ſo *many* who were *Repreſenters* of the *People*, ſo *few* ſhould have the *juſtice* and *magnanimity* to perform ſuch an *action*, or approve it afterwards, if it were indeed *juſt* and *Magnanimous*, as Mr. *Milton* would have it? The whole *Houſe* of *Peers*, (although excluded by an after *Vote*) yet they ſpontaneouſly *adjourned*, rather than to have a hand in ſo *baſe* and ſo *barbarous* an *Action*: Againſt which the godly *Divines* undauntedly *proteſted*, the conſcientious Citizens and Countrey-people joyntly *diſſented* by *Petitions*, the *Scotch* Nation (equally concerned with the *Engliſh*) *declared*, and thereupon, *Proclaimed* and *Crowned* their *Hereditary King*, by Succeſſion, *CHARLES* the *Second*, (whom God preſerve.) The *Iriſh* Nation (not the *Rebels*) diſowned ſo *irreligious Treaſon*, and take up *Arms*. Where then

then is the *Juſtice* of aboliſhing *Kingſhip*? The *Peers* have an Intereſt in the *King*, to whom many of them are allyed, and *Kinſmen*, and whom he in Honour vouchſafed to call *Couzins*, be is the Fountain of their *Honour*, and they therefore an *Houſe* of *Parliament* by *Priviledge* and *Prerogative*: Yet they are of us, our *Lords* and our *Kinſmen*, by *Eſtate* and *ability* far above us, yet *bone* of our *bone*, and *fleſh* of our *fleſh*. What *Juſtice* was there in *Diſcarding* them (*Mr. Milton*) and cheating them of the thing *fought* for, when in their *cuſtody* and *poſſeſſion*, after they had born a conſiderable burden of *managing* the *Warre*? Put all the Coſt together, and they bore their full *ſhare*, and therefore of *due Juſtice* ought to have had a *Voyce* in *diſpoſing* of his *Majeſty*, after the *Warre*, who had reduced him to that Condition by *Warre*.

But alas! The *Scots* had expreſſely declared, that they would have the *King* to be *Treated* with, with *Freedome* and *Honour*, and the *Nobles* with the *Commons* had *Reſolved* his *Majeſties* Anſwers to be *ſatisfactory*, ſo far as to proceed upon them to *ſettlement* of the *Nation*: What *Juſtice* then can be pretended that *one* part of *ſix* (if ſo much) of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, ſhould deſtroy the *KING*, and

and aboliſh *Kingſhip?* Will you ſay, the *Army* would have it ſo? Then it was ſo far from being *juſt* and *magnanimous*, as it was neither, but contrary to both. What more *unjuſt*, then for a *few* to carry on a *bloudy Treaſon* with *perjury*, not only in *contradiction* to, but *excluſion* of *four* times the number of their *Fellows*, and the whole *Houſe* of *Peers*, equal in *Power* to them and their *Fellows* put together; at leaſt, ſo far *equal*, as that their *Nay* was a *bar* to any thing the others would have *enacted* or *repealed*. What more ſordidly *cowardly*, then for *fifty* or *threeſcore Commoners*, who with their Fellowes and the Lords had *managed Seaven* years War againſt the *King* and all his *Forces*, now in complyance with a few *Army Officers*, to betray their *Truſts*, their *Fellow-members*, the *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, and all that is *ſacred & honourable*, to *murder* their *King*; break all their *Oaths* and *Vowes*, only to ſatisfie the *Exorbitant Luſt* of ſome few aſpiring *Army Grandees*, who all of them were their *Servants*, Raiſed, Armed, Commiſſionated, Impowered, and Payd by them, for other ends then to be *commanded* by them to *act* things contrary both to their *Oaths* and *Conſciences*. Could they, who but few years before had ingaged *England* in a *bloudy quarrel*,

rel, and called in the *Scots* to their aſſiſtance and all to defend (as they pretended) the *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, when their *lawful KING*, their *ſworn Soveraign*, demanded but *five* of their *Members* to a *Legal tryall*, upon a *Juſt Charge*, which he proffered againſt them; ſuffer their *Servants*, who received their *pay*, and had been *ſworn* to their *Obedience*, to ſecure, impriſon and detain, *forty* at a time of their *Fellow-members*, and after *exclude* and *drive away* nigh *two hundred* more? How then did they *adjourn*, and continue to ſit in a *Committee* in *London*, till that pretended and (in compariſon of this) not imaginable *Force* was removed? And now can they *keep* their *ſeats*, and continue *ſitting*? Then they *reſolved* into a *Committee*, now they *remain* as an *Houſe*, nor *remain* only, but *act*, nor *act* alone, but *preſcribe Qualifications* to ſuch as ſhall be *readmitted* to ſit, by which it is apparent, that they were not compelled by *force* of the *Soldiery*, to what they did, (although that had *convinced* them of *puſillanimous Cowardiſe*, in ſtead of *Magnanimity*) but they *complotted* with, *contrived* and *invented* what the *Rebellious Soldiery acted*, among whom all were not alike to be taxed for the then *Generall*, now the *Lord Fairfax* was ſo far from *contriving* or *countenancing*

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that he was unſatisfied with thoſe proceedings againſt his *Majeſty*, which was indeed (as after appeared evidently) the ſole Plot of *OLIVER* the *Copper-noſed* Saint, and ſome other *Schiſmatical Army Officers*, together with a few *treacherous, perjur'd Commoners*, who (forcibly *ſecluding* moſt of their number, and the *Houſe* of *Lords* willingly *adjourning*, till this *bloudy Tragedy* might be over, (unleſſe by God prevented) and ſo Diſavowing the *Murder*) had the Honour to be *infamous* by themſelves, an ſtained with *Sacred Royall Blood.*

I grant you Mr. *Milton*, that theſe *Patriots*, as you ſtyle them, did this, but while they did not *own* what they *acted*, but would ſeem to lye under the *Armyes* Force, (when indeed, they, and the *Rebellious* part of the *Army* mutually *completted* and *contrived* the whole buſineſſe as it was after acted) where was their *Magnanimity?* If the *Action* was *good*, and *juſt*, and *honourable*, why would they ſeem *unwillingly* compelled to it? Why did they ſo oft ſend to the *Army* and demand the *readmiſſion* of their *Members?* ſince they did not deſire, nor intend it, why did they pretend to *deſire* it? Was that a part of their *valour* and *Magnanimity?* To pretend a fear, and affrightment, from *unar-*

med Petitioning *London* Apprentices, who ſeized not a perſon of them, nor offered the leaſt *violence*, no nor yet *menacing* words, not daring to oppoſe the inſulting *Soldiery*, if they really diſliked their Actions, nor yet having confidence enough to own their Actions if they did (as ſince it appeared undenyably) approve of what they did; who but Mr. *Milton* would ſtyle this a *Magnanimous* Action?

If *Perjury*, *Treachery*, *breach of Vowes*, *Murther*, *Uſurpation*, *Oppreſſion*, and *Sacrilege*, be the demonſtrations of a *juſt cauſe*; if to be choſen for the *good* of the *Counties*, *Cities*, or *Burroughs* chooſing, in a *joynt*, not *divided* way, with, not without the *Houſe* of *Peers*, to *conſult* with the *KING*, not to *depoſe* and *murther* him; and yet to do contrary to all for which they were *Elected*: If to be returned by *Indentures*, to *adviſe* with the *King* about matters of great concernment, to be *ſworn* at *admiſſion* into the *Houſe*, to be *true* to the *King*, his *Heirs*, &c. to *maintain* him, and all his *juſt Priviledges*, and to *confirm* this *Oath* by ſeveral after *Oaths* and *Covenants*, and *Proteſtations*, and yet to butcher the ſame *King*, make Warre againſt, and proclaim Traytor his Son, expell him out of one of his Hereditary Kingdomes, and

and wherein he was Crowned, make it *Treaſon* to relieve him in Exile, yea *Malignity* to *pray* for him *publiquely*: If to make an *Invaſive Warre* on *Scotland*, for *Crowning* a *King*, to whom, and which, they were bound by *Oath*, without their *conſent*, who had *murthered* the *Father*, not only without but contrary to theirs, and contrary to their own re-iterated *Oaths* and *Duty*. If I ſay, all theſe, and ten times as many the like Actions, which all concur to, and center in the *aboliſhing* of *Kingſhip*, be *juſt*; then next to the *Devil*, the *Rumpers* ſhall have my Voyce to applaud their *Juſtice*: And as for their *Magnanimity* let them commend it who know not, or will not believe, how perfidiouſly they wrought with their own *ſtipendiary* Servants, to rebell againſt thoſe from whom they derived their *power*, and by whom *payd*. It was the *major* part of the *Commons* and the *Peers*, that alwayes acted, empowered, ordered and diſpoſed of all things, which how magnanimouſly the *Rump* could uſurp to themſelves, we have ſeen, having an *Army* at hand to back them, but ſo cowardly they were, that they durſt not own themſelves to have a hand in any of theſe Tranſactions, but like a *Puppet-player* drew the *Curtain* of a

rebellious mutinous Souldiery before the eys of the ſpectators though quicker ſights eaſily at firſt perceived the juggle.

'Twil now not be unſeaſonable to conſider the experience which the worthy *Patriots* the reſtorers of us to Liberty had of *Kingſhip*, which is no more then what themſelves expreſſed in their *Reſolves* and *Votes*, (as is at large relsted by learned Mr *Walker* in his *Hiſtory of Independency*;) and the ſame is here laid down by Mr *Milton* their *Champion*, for the ground of this their *aboliſhing* the ſame. They had found it by long experience, burdenſome, expenſive, uſeleſſe, and dangerous, ſo alſo they judged the *Houſe* of *Peers*, unneceſſary, &c. Concerning this I have ſpoken already, and yet I muſt repeat the ſame arguments, although not the ſame words, ſince that *maxime* in *oratory* holds ever true, *Nunquam nimis dicitur quod non ſatis intelligitur*. Let us conſider things then, and if we want not *memory*, we ſhall not want *inſtances* enough to convince as well the *Rump* as this their *Champion*, that this their *old diſcovery*, was but a new *forgery*, and an *expreſſy* ſinning againſt the light of their *Conſcience*, would any that had read the *Speakers Speech* to the *KING* made on the fifth of *November*, 1640 at the firſt *convention* of *this Parliament*, believe

leive that he then had found *Kingſhip* or *Kingly Government*, ſuch as the *Rump* ſince declare to the world their experience thereof, nevertheleſs the ſame *William Lenthal* though he then proteſted his Judgment, that the welfare of theſe *Nations* under God *depended* on his *Majeſty* and his *Royall iſſue*, and acknowledged with pretended gratefulneſſe, how under him and *his Father*, this *Kingdome* had flouriſhed, yet eight years after, behold, and ſtand in admiration the ſame man with a *perjurd tongue* and *double mind*, ſits *Speaker* to the *Rump*, and they pretend their long experience, not only of the *burthen* and *uſleſneſs*, but the *danger* of *Kingly Government*. Of Sir *Henry Mildmay*, and both the *Vanes* *Cornelius Holland*, and ſeverall others, this I may ſay, and wrong neither them nor the truth. *That if ever Servants had a good Maſter, and be in requital falſe, wicked ſervants, they and their murdered Maſter may be cited as full and clear Examples.* And yet theſe will needs be *Saints*, in oppoſition to the Apoſtle *Paul*, who ſaith *that perhaps for a good Maſter ſome ſervant may dare to dye*, never ſuppoſing or imagining there ſhould be ſuch deſperately treacherous Servants to *circumvent*, and *Murther* their *Maſter*.

As for the *burthensomnesse* of *Monarchy*, which I presume we are to interpret concerning our own *Government* by *Kings*, and more particularly of that *excellently accomplished*, and *first englisht royall Martyr King* CHARLES, How expensive I pray you, how burdensome was he? Could he or any other *KING* before him, rayse monys without a *Parliament*. As for his *Family expense*, did ever any man before you taxe him with *profuseneſſe*? Did he or could he make warre without the advise of thoſe Nobles who were of his *Privy Counſell*? Nay on the other hand was not his *Father* ſo farre given to peace, and peace-making that he gave for his Motto, *Beati Pacifici*? and reckoned it his honor to be accounted one of that number? Was not the imputation laid upon him by thoſe who make it their buſineſs to bark at *Majeſty*, and to ſpeak evill of *dominion*, that he was a *Coward* and one who would rather chooſe to buy a diſhonourable peace, then to make and manage an honourable Warre? was not he by the invitation of his allyes the *Bohemian Proteſtants*, as well as thoſe of *Rochell*, the inſtigation of his *Peers*, the addreſſes and incouragement of all his *loving Subjects*, ſtirred up to a Warre in defence of both the *Bohemians*, and *Rochellians*? In proſecution of which, was

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not his treaſure exhauſted, and a Warre left from the Father to the Sonne, to the purſuing whereof, Conſcience, Religion, and reputation bound him? and yet how ſlack were the *Parliaments* for his ſupply, how earneſtly on the other hand did he deſire it, and yet *factious ſpirits* being crept into theſe *grand Counſailes*, how was time ſpent in vain, and nothing effected? I ſpeak not now as an *Hiſtorian*, but as an *Orator*, my preſent taſk is to urge matters granted, not to relate, but for things of fact, I ſhall recommend the Reader to the larger hiſtory of Mr *Sanderſon*, and the briefer of *Lambert Wood* Gent: both relating the full ſubſtance, of what was done, and ſuffered by our happy (had we known our happineſs) *King* CHARLES the *Firſt*, whoſe happineſs as to himſelf is (I queſtion not) beyond mortall capacity, and whoſe glory, honour, and renown for his Conqueſt in his ſufferings, exceeds the moſt famous of all our former *Engliſh Monarchs*.

Our Kings before theſe reforming times, had a ſplendid Revenue accommodated to the Majeſty of a Court, although much ſhort of the expenſe which a warlike Camp and navy Call for, to the former our *Kings* eſtate was fitted, of the latter he was himſelf uncapable, without the aſſiſtance of his *Subjects*,

jects, nor was this to be had of them, without their *free consents* in *Parliament*, where neither the *Lords*, nor *Commons* alone, but *both together* were in a capacity to furnish the *King*. Good Sir, what burden was here? But moneys you say, *were commonly extorted out of the Commons no just cause appearing to them.* Strange that Mr *Milton* should write such a foolish absurdity, and yet considering him the Author of Ἐικονοκλάστης *the defense of the people* against *English Salmasius*, and the *Paradox es* concerning divorce, the subject meethinks befits the pen. How is it possible for *money* to be *extorted* from the *Commons* in *Parliament* without their *Consent*? When neither the *Lords* nor *King*, both concurring could impose *one Subsidy* upon the *Commons*. Nor was it ever known that the *Commoners* sate in *Parliament* under a *visible compelling force*, untill these times of *mysterious reformation*. It is certain, the *major part* of the *house* of *Commons* must *vote* a *subsidy* or *subsidys*, or else the *King* must go without them, and this must passe the *house* upon a full debate of the question. Now to imagine that monys voluntarily given, should be extorted, and where the question is put and each man without compassion hath liberty of giving his Ay or No, without further rendring an account of the reason of his dissent

diſſent, more then he is free to, or if he have reaſon (as you inſinuate) and gave it, be is not liable to the leaſt queſtion, for any freedom uſed, in expreſſing his mind in the *houſe*, who but a man compounded, and made up, of ignorance and impudence, would ſay, that ſuch moneys, ſo given, upon ſuch debate, and the queſtion ſo oft put, no man being bound up to either conſent or diſſent, but as his judgment, and Conſcience gave him, were *extorted* without any reaſonable *Cauſe* appearing.

To this I know what you would reply, namely, That the *Houſe of Commons* had within its Walls a *Court faction*, and without, both *King* and *Lords*, (who were his Creatures) and all labouring to their utmoſt, to *ſupplant* the *ſincere* part of the *Commons*, who were *zealous* in *defenſe* of the *Peoples Liberty*. This Mr. *Milton* is ſoon ſaid, and *Machivell* teacheth you no leſſe, but not ſo eaſily to be admitted: The *Commons* are choſen by the *Counties*, *Cities* and *Burroughs*, for which they ſerve, who uſually chooſe ſuch whom they moſt confide in, to the *Electors* they are ingaged by *Indenture*, or *Covenant*, and ſo where a *Free Choyce* is, there is leſs fear, that men *choſen* by all, *impowered* by all, and *repreſenting* all, and willingly *ingaging* their

Faith

Faith and *Credit* to all, should contrary to their *Trust betray* all, and *comply* with the *Royall Interest*, to the prejudice of those who *Elected*, and intrusted them to *Represent* themselves. We know, Mr. *Milton*, that *Elections* then were *Free*, and no *Prohibition* laid upon any that were by *Law* capable, either from *Electing* or being *Elected*. True, since our *Yoak* (as you term it) hath been shook off, and none are under restraint, but only such who fear an *Oath*, and make Conscience to keep those *sacred tyes* inviolable, which *judicially* and *conscientiously* they took, we have had at least *nine* parts of *ten* restrained from either chooſing or being chosen, so that the *tenth* part only hath had liberty of *Ordering* the *Election*, and the other *nine* parts, must upon penalty of being *plundred*, sit still, and call this a *Free Parliament*, in such a *House* of *Commons*, as this I doubt not but many may be found, who will *betray their Trust*, pretended to be committed to them, because they indeed are not *Elected* by, but *Obtruded* upon the people: Thus we have had not only *Knights*, but also *Citizens*, and *Burgesses*, more then *formally* yea *really*, men (*cum accinctis Gladiis*) with their *Swords* girt, for *Army Officers* have not seldome been

been the *major* part of the *Houſe*, or elſe ſuch with the *Officers*, who held places of *great profit*, under the then *ruling*, or rather *Dominecring Uſurpers*.

But if really theſe men had (as you ſay) *experimentally* found, and that upon long *proof*, *Kingly Government* to be *expenſive* and *burdenſome*, what can they *pretend* in *excuſe*, that they ſhould Declare publiquely their intent to be, to make this *Kings Revenue* Larger and more Splendid? Was this intent *reall*, or did they make uſe of it as a *decoy pretenſe* to ingage the *Common people* of their ſide, without whom they could not perform their work? Yea I will appeal only to themſelves, had they not *declared*, *proteſted*, *covenanted*, *vowed*, and uſed all *ſacred* and *ſolemn means*, to perſwade the *Nation*, that their *reall intent* was only to *remove* ſome *bad Counſellors* from about the *King*, and to bring them to *Juſtice*, but that to his *Majeſties* Perſon, and *Royall Iſſue*, they bore *firm* and *inviolable Allegiance*, nor ever minded to *abridge* his *juſt Prerogative*, only with it to *confirm* and *ſecure*, and *ſettle* the *Liberty* and *Priviledge* of the *Subject*, if (I ſay) they had not Declared this, do they think that ever *Money* had been lent and raiſed, or ſo many men would have ingaged their *Lives* and

and *Fortunes?* No verily, those *turbulent spirits* (without these *specious shewes*) had been left at first, stript of all *Friends* and *Abettors*, to the hand of *Justice*, to have had their *hot spirits* cooled with *deserved Imprisonment*, or perhaps with a *Hempen Preservative*, against *future infection* with a *treasonable Rebellious Spirit*.

Well then, if the People by such *pretences* were cheated into a *Rebellious War*, it cannot so much be imputed to them, considering, what the *Parliament* with *sacred solemnity vowed* and *swore*, (enough to induce any, but very *discerning Judgements*, to side with them) but the blame must for ever lie at their dores, who have acted so *rebelliously* and *perfidiously* on one hand, and *dissemblingly* on the other.

Consider I pray you things upon the account of *Justice*, for Sir, there is Justice among Thieves and High-way men, if they share their Booty fairly and equally: could these *Patriots*, as you call them, of our *liberty*, (the *Rumpers* I mean) with their own valour and wit, upon their own Charges, have defeated the *King*, and all who should appear for him, upon the score of the expensiveness, burdensomeness, uselesness and dangerousness of his Office, and publiquely avowed this

this to be their quarrell? Ile grant you, then, their actings might have been *justifiable*, upon the title of Conqueſt, and *a poſteriori*, for Originally they could not be ſo, conſidering the paucity of their number, but when it is evident, that not they, but the *major* part of the *Nation*, many by actuall appearing in *Arms*, all by *Countributing Moneys*, carryed on the *War* from the beginning to the end, now at laſt for them by *complyance* with a corrupt mutinous Souldiery, to imploy the Victory to other, nay clean contrary ends, then for which *Arms* were firſt taken, and *Moneys* raiſed, to turn out all, that with them, for Eight years together carryed on the War joyntly, becauſe at laſt they could not in *Conſcience*, and would not joyn with them in ſo deteſtable *perjurious* actings, to *murder*, *deſtroy*, and *plunder* as many as durſt oppoſe theſe palpable Prævarications, if I ſay theſe actions do not point out *Saints* in *grain*, the moſt *barbarous* of *Murtherers*, to wit *Regicides*, the moſt *abominable* ſort of *Thieves*, to wit *Sacrilegious Robbers*, the moſt *damnable* of *Profeſſors*, to wit *Hypocrites*, the moſt *corrupt* of *Engliſh Commoners* to wit *Rumpers*, I ſhall leave it to any of their friends, to conſider, at leaſt, if ever God ſhould open his, or their eyes, or they come upon their Death-

Death-bed: I am ſure no Cordiall unprejudiced *Engliſh-man* can think of thoſe *unheard of practiſes*, but with the like affection wherewith *Æneas* at the Requeſt of Queen *Dido* made relation of his paſt miſeries, which he with his Countrey ſuffered,

Infandum Regina jubes renovare dolorem.

Yea I queſtion not, Mr *Milton*, but ſucceeding ages will eſteem of it, next to the rejecting *and crucifying the Lord of Life, Jeſus Chriſt*, the moſt deteſtable example that ever any people who were really, or deſired to be reputed the *people of God*, acted, or abetted.

But Sir whatever you have ſaid as to this Argument, I ſhall have occaſion to meet with and ſpeak to in proving my own aſſertions, and therefore I ſhall with as much brevity, as perſpicuity will admit diſcourſe of, and by ſolid reaſons confirm the ſame.

Kingſhip I affirm, to be the only *deſirable* government in the world, and of all ſorts of *Kingly Governments* or *Monarchies*, ours of *England* was moſt *exquiſitely compoſed, equally tempered*, and *ſuited* to a *Nation* really free, and yet *truly Subject*, where *Majeſty* and *ſubjection* made a true harmony, and the moſt inferiour members

members were as equally neceſſary to the good of the whole, as the chief. In it the *King* was *Supreme*, the head of Law and Juſtice, and yet himſelf never had power to make, or to execute any Law, the *governed people* propounded, formed, and modelled, ſuch Lawes by which they were to be ruled, The *peers* who alſo had a ſhare in ſubjection, yet a degree advanced above the *Commons*, they had likewiſe a hand in Laws, that were to be enacted, to whom therefore they were brought for *approbation*. And being thus formed and approved, they were laſtly preſented to the *King* for his *Royall confirmation*. Thus the Commons *propounding*, and *framing* the nobles *approving* and *Conſenting*, the King *ſigning* and *confirming*, Lawes were made. Where now is ſlavery? where the bondage, and vaſſallage, which you made ſo great a noyſe concerning? Was it in having any Laws at all? Truely Mr *Milton*, however you palliate things I believe verily there lyes the knot that troubles you, there your ſhooe pinches. I find generally ſuch *Chriſtian Libertines*, as your writings ſhew you to be one of, come at laſt to throw off all externall coercive, or binding lawes, and deſire only to be governed by the Law *within* them, which in truth is a *ſpirit* of *Lawleſneſſe*. To this your

doctrine of divorce ſeems to incline, therein you complain much of bondage, and thraldome, vaſſalage, and what not, only for ſtanding indiſpenſably obliged to your wife, after the Covenant of God mutually paſſed between you, what wonder then, if you account it vaſſallage to be held by an *Oath of Allegiance*? But as there have been, and are many who account themſelves at a much greater liberty, being engaged in an inviolable bond, to a loving wife, (& conſidering the frailty of their nature, cannot abide a ſingle life) ſo I queſtion not but thouſands of ſober ſpirits, Judged themſelves farre more free, when we had our *KING*, and kept our *Oaths* by which we were indiſpenſably ingaged to him, *Conſcientiouſly* and *firmly*, then ſince, by *Hypocriſie*, *Perjury*, and *Rebellion*, we have gained this (much talked of) *Liberty*.

But to return to our former, and not by humane Art amendable form of Government if you will yeild it convenient to have any Laws, what can be better then thoſe of the *Peoples own making*, they propounded, they framed them, unleſs you would have their *Reſolves* to be *Laws*, without any *Concurrence of Nobles*, or *Conſent* of the *KING*? If ſo, what monſtrous Liberty would you have, when

when virtually two thirds of the Nation muſt be content, with what the *Commons* do, or as the Proverb is *turn the buckle of their girdle behind them, and ſeek their amends where they can get them*? The *KING* his *Family* and *Poſterity*, had a *Revenue* of their own for which he was not engaged to the preſent people. He had lands by due title as any *Commoner* in *England*, and was ſuable in caſe he detained any mans Land, or other of his eſtate illegally, and the Law equally free againſt, as for the *King*. Now the *Royalties* which belonged to him (as ſupream) *viz. Cuſtomes &c.* were his by deſcent, and antient preſcription, in wrong of no Subject, or if any thing did pinch upon any Subject, as the *forfeitures* of *felons goods*, *wrecks* &c. theſe (had the Commons, with the Lords, adjudged them a burthen) might eaſily have been taken away, and the *King* would willingly have been content, with a more equitable income, of the like value, The *Nobles* alſo had very large *Eſtates*, and *Revenues*. And ſo had likewiſe the *Biſhops*, and ſuch who attended the ſervice of God, who had great poſſeſſions. Who ſhould repreſent theſe in a *bare houſe* of *Commons*? Experience ſhews us, that no ſooner were the *Biſhops*, *&c.* put down, by theſe *reformers*, but their Lands were all alienated

from the *Church*, and *ſould*, and *turned* to *impious uſes*, namely to *reward* the Souldiers for what *Engliſh* bloud they have ſhed, and this done by thoſe who never had the piety, to give any thing to the *Church*. But of ſuch Church robberies, I ſhall be ſilent hereafter becauſe the lands (thus raviſhed away from the true uſe to which they were intended) were publique lands, but being once dedicated to God, many good Chriſtians, could have wiſhed, they had ſtill been reſerved to the ſame ends, though perhaps the ſame perſons might not be adjudge fit to poſſeſs them but of this only by the way, however this is a *lamentation*, and ſhall be for a *Lamentation*.

The people of *England*, as they had *Liberties*, which were their birthright and precious to them, ſo alſo had the *King* as one of the Nation, for his being *King*, and ſo *Supreme* although it added much to him, beyond other men, yet it abridged him of nothing that was his, as a man, It was right the *King* ſhould have *Liberty*, in his *Confirmation*, of what the *Peers*, and *Commons* preſented to him, for his *Royall aſcent*, or elſe they might, if ever both eſtates could agree, at their pleaſure, *dethrone* him, or *limit*, or *alter* his *ſucceſſors*, or what not injurious to him

as

as a *man*, but much more as a *King*? So likewiſe the *Nobles* of the Land, how ſhould they be repreſented? Barely to be choſen among the *Commoners*? If ſo what inconvenience of neceſſity muſt thence ariſe, and how abſurd it would be, a ſhallow diſcretion might eaſily apprehend, for firſt they exceeding (for the Generallity) the Commons in eſtate, would be much more popular, and ſo, if they could be courted ſo farre out of their honour, as to accept of popular elections, what *Parliament* could we expect but the majority of them would be Nobles, and by this means they which in our preſent conſtitution, are only *reviſers*, and *approvers* of the *Laws* would ſoon become the *Law-framers*, and *Enacters*. Or if you ſhould imagine that few only of them would be choſen, as of late, two of the houſe of *Peers* were *Rumpers*, what inequality and abſurdity would there be, when a ſmall *Borough* ſhall elect *two Burgeſſes*, and he who is *Lord* perhaps of twenty or more *Burroughs*, and the chief man in three or four *Counties* as to eſtate, ſhall only be repreſented by his own ſingle *voice*, and ſome not at all? What ſiding, and factions this muſt neceſſarily produce? Our Government then Mr *Milton* needed none of your Art to mend it, no more then the *Law* of

Marriage, needed your *Divinity* to *explain* and *limit* it: and as by the latter you gained little credit among the *Ladyes* or *such prudent sober men* who made a Conscience of their *Vow* in *Marriage*, so the former is lesse acceptable to true *loyall breasts*, and will be exibilated by the vulgar, when once the fury of our former madnes is a little allayed.

Twas strange that you could imagine no subordinate *ingagement* to a single *person*, but what is accompanyed with *Vassalage*, when it is certain in faith, that among the three persons, *Christ the Sonne*, and the *Holy Spirit*, who are God blessed for evermore, are both *Subordinately* related as *Persons* to the *Father*, and yet there is that blessed freedome and Liberty, that among them is *unity*. But we will come to humane Governments, for concerning them will lye the question, In society the first *subordination* is *oeconomical* of *children* to *Parents*, and for to provide the better for a mans family, and to carry on things more comfortably, comes in another relation, of *servant* and *Master*. Now although the *Man* and *wife* be head of the family, yet not *separately* but *unitedly*, and the *Wife* her self is *subordinate*, being above all the rest, only *inferiour* to her *husband*, although in some cases

caſes *equall*, This ſtate of ſociety admits no Democraſie, nay it is accounted a miſery for a ſervant to have more then one Maſter, inſomuch that Chriſt ſaith, *it is impoſſible to ſerve two maſters*, and addes for a reaſon, *that he will hate that one, and love the other, he will cleave to the one and deſpiſe the other.* It was the Complaint of *Cyrus* in the Comædy, that he did not know, who, nor how many were his Maſters, and though he be brought in as a ſlave, yet this he laments as aggravating his bondage. Here Mr *Milton* may obſerve divers *ſubordinations* to *one*, and yet no bondage, but all make up on *free family*, and live in *peace*, and *Love*, and *plenty* together. The *Wife* is ſubject to her *huſband* one to one, yet no *Vaſſal* unleſſe Mr *Miltons* doctrine of *divorce* may be admitted that he may turn her off, as ſoone, or as oft as his wayward ſpirit can find no delight in her. The *Children* are *ſubject* to their *Parents*, yet no *ſlaves*, and although they ow obedience to both, yet their father is, in the family *chief*, and he *makes* and uſually *executes* all *Lawes*, in his *family*, nev ertheleſs no *tyranny* can be charged upon the *Father* nor *Vaſſalage* imputed to the *Sonnes*, The *Maſter* and *Servant* is another relation, the *Servant* bound by his own *Conſent*, and to be at the *Maſters command* in *lawful* and *poſſible*

things, yet would ſcorne the title of a *ſlave* or *Vaſſal*, What need I inſtance in other ſocieties, of *Schools* of *Learning*, where one Pedagogue is found the beſt expedient, though he have *Vſhers* under him; ſo in Colledges, one *Chancellour* over an *Univerſity*, one *Rector* or *Preſident* over a *Hall* or *Colledge*, ſo in a Ship one *Maſter* over a *Company*, one *Captain* over a *Regiment*, one *Collonel* over an *Army*, one *Generall*, and yet no *ſlavery* nor *Vaſſalage*. But to come nearer, in a *family*, where are (perhaps) many *Sonnes* and *Daughters*, and a *multitude* of *Servants*, upon the death of the *Father*, doth not the *ſupremacy* (as I may call it, or chief rule,) deſcend to the *firſt born*, both by light of *Nature*, and *divine Commandement*? Surely Mr *Milton* never ſtudied the dignity and authority of the right of *Primogeniture*, and that by *Natures Law*, and *divine Inſtitution*, upon the ſcore of ſleighting, and ſelling, whereof *Eſau* gained the title of *prophane*, and was *rejected*, nor (having once deſpiſed his birth-right) could he get the bleſſing afterward though he ſought it with *teares*. But old *Iſaack*, ſubjected him to his brother *Jacob*, that he ſhould *ſerve him*, and *bow down* to him and yet was he no *ſlave*. Nor were the *Sonnes* of *Jacob* (who were twelve) and his Grandſonnes,

(then

(then a numerous multitude) *Slaves*, though all *subjected* to *Judah*, the first-born by divine præheminence, and old *Jacobs* appointment, *Ruben* having by his incontinency, (in defiling his own Fathers bed) forfeited that priviledge, which was next to death, (which he deserved therefore) a heavy, matchlesse punishment. One would thing that if ever a Republique had been necessary and usefull, now it was when *twelve Brethren*, all living, and fatherlesse, had under them a multitude of Sonnes and Daughters, Grand-children, Servants, and handmaids, yet then, one *Judah* is appointed *Law-giver* to them all, and so confirmed, untill the coming of *Shiloh*, to whom the gathering of the Nations should be, And this is not a *Boorish* way of a *Dwindling Common-wealth*, But the *Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Law-giver* (in the singular number, mark that) *from between his feet, &c.* Yea, was not this part of the promise of God to *Abraham*, when his name was changed unto *Abraham*, *That Kings should come out of his Loynes*? Before he had blessed him with *fruitfulnesse*, that he should be the *Father* of many *Nations*, and his seed should be innumerable like the stars of Heaven, or the sand upon the Sea-shore, but at last, and upon the change of his name, he assures him that

that *Kings* ſhould come out of him, not only that his *ſeed* ſhould be many, his *poſterity innumerable*, but as an addition of happineſſe, they ſhould be *advanced* to the *Majeſty* of a *great* and *mighty Kingdom*: all which was fulfilled in Gods due time. With what face Mr. *Milton*, can you brand that eſtate, with the baſe titles of *Slavery*, *Bondage*, *Vaſſalage*, and *Servileneſſe*, which God added unto *Abraham* as a corollary of temporall bleſſings? fxcundity even to innumerableneſſe, as the Starres of Heaven or as the ſand upon the Sea-ſhore, he had promiſed him before, yet ſtill he remained *Abraham*, but when he adds this to his former bleſſings that his *poſterity* ſhould *flouriſh* into a *Magnificent Kingdome*, then he alters his name into *Abraham*, Whoſe other Sonne *Iſhmael*, when *Abraham* groaned out his deſires to the Lord; *Oh that Iſhmael may live before thee*, God anſwers him likewiſe concerning him, *Of him will I make a great Nation*, *I will multiply him exceedingly*, and for an addition or rather fulneſs of his earthly bleſſings? (*Twelve Princes ſhall he beget*) So concerning *Eſau*, the brother of *Jacob*, (from whom ſprang the bleſſed ſeed) the Scripture mentioning his *temporall felicity*, (for *Iſaack* had bleſſed him alſo with the fatneſs of the earth) records what *Dukes* ſprang out of

of his *Loyns*, and what *Kings* reigned over *Edom*, before any *King* reigned over *Iſrael*. Which makes it evident *that Kingly Government is the moſt honourable, moſt ſtately Government*, and argues a *greater portion of Gods bleſſing* powred forth upon the *Nation* that injoyes it, then where any other *inferior*, and more *Contemptible Government* is had.

It is a poor *Sophiſme* that you uſe, Sir, that God gave *Iſrael* a *King* in *wrath*, and imputed it a *ſin* to them that they asked one, if it be certain, that God had before bleſſed *Abraham* with the promiſe of *Kings to come out of his loyns*, and the *Government of the ſeed of Jacob*, was to be by a *Scepter*, and this to ſpring out of *Judah*, and the *King* of *Kings* (God for ever bleſſed) was to be cloathed with humane fleſh, from one that *lineally deſcended* of *King David*, and his Grandfathers to be a continual ſucceſſion of Kings. It argued only that they asked unſeaſonably, and in unbelief, (*for whoever believes, makes not haſte, but patiently waits the accompliſhment of Gods Promiſes in his time*) they asked alſo upon a wrong principle, and for a wrong end, not to have the bleſſed Promiſe of God accompliſhed, but to be like other Nations. Nor did they conſider, that then *God* was their *King*, *Samuel* ruling over them, and

and judging them, who was known from *Dan* unto *Beersheba* to be a Prophet of the Lord, and to have frequent *Dialogues* with his *Maker*. This was their sin, and God to convince them of it, gave them their desire, a *King* in his *wrath*, whom he after *took away* in his *displeasure*.

'Tis strange, that God should make his Covenant with *David*, (even an *everlasting Covenant*) which was so inviolable that sooner should the Covenant of the Day, and of the Night be broken, then it, had he adjudged *Kingship* a *Government* not so well-pleasing to him, as that of a *Common-wealth*: Yet at that time, and before, the *Sanedrim*, or *grand Counsell* of the *Seventy Elders*, were in being, nevertheless of none of them, nor of any of the Priests, though the order of *Aaron* was Sacred and Noble, would *Christ* vouchsafe to come, but only of the *Kingly stock* of the house of *Judah*, Two of whom *David* and *Salomon*, were immediate Types of him, and Prophets Divinely inspired. Certainly Mr. *Milton* this will argue something for *Kingship*, or *Kingly Government*.

But to proceed orderly in what I intend, I shall recapitulate some things, and then proceed through the whole History of Gods People

People the *Jews*, urging what may be neceſſary to my preſent purpoſe, (and this very briefly) afterwards I ſhall come to the times that have been ſince *Chriſt*, and ſhall take notice of ſome inſtances, both *modern* and *ancient*, which have been delivered us by Hiſtorians, concerning other places, eſpecially *Republicks* or *Common-wealths*.

Firſt let us begin with *Abraham*, the *Father* of the *Faithfull*, the firſt to whom the *promiſes*, (which in his ſeed, were extended to all Nations) were made. This *Abraham* was a great *Prince*, as was acknowledged by the Sons of *Heth*, ſo great, that when the five Kings of *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, *Admah*, *Zeboim* and *Zoar*, were overcome by the four Kings who came againſt them, and *Lot* among the reſt was taken Priſoner, he with his Confederates, *Aner*, *Eſhcol*, and *Mamre*, went out, gave them battle, overcame them, and reſcued *Lot*. This *Abraham* was ſo abſolute a *Monarch*, that God teſtified of him, *I know that he will command his Family, and his Children after him, and they ſhall keep the way of the Lord, to do juſtice and judgment.* See here, *abſolute command*, and *abſolute ſubjection*, without *tyranny* on one hand, or *Voſſallage* on the other. The ſame power, deſcended from him to *Iſaac*, and ſucceſſively

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ly to *Jacob*, and by him (being Divinely directed) it was intayled upon *Judah* and his *Offspring*, over all their *brethren*, untill the coming of *Shilah*, which Promiſe was accompliſht (with the bleſſing thereof) in the *Anoynting* of *David*, eſpecially when he was confirmed *King*, over all *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*.

During which interval of time, for the ſpace of four hundred and thirty years they were Sojourners, and in Bondage, in *Egypt*. But when the time of *deliverance* came, God ſent them a *Captain*, and a *Redeemer*, even *Moſes*, who was a *Prince* in *Jeſhurun*, or *Iſrael*, concerning whom God ſaid, *That Aaron ſhould be unto him as a Mouth, and he ſhould be unto the people as* (or in the ſtead of) *God*. What was this, but a *KING*, or *Chief Ruler* or *Judge*, as *Stephen* expounds it in the Acts, *This Moſes* (ſaith he) *whom they refuſed, ſaying, Who made thee a Judge, or Ruler over us, the ſame did God ſend to be a Ruler and Deliverer*. He under God immediately, conducted, gave Lawes to, yea he judged and determined Controverſies between them. And when the *Seventy* were choſen, by the advice of *Jethro* (*Moſes* Father-in-law) it was for his eaſe, that he might not be worn out by ſitting all day to

judge

judge between them, to hear and determine their *Controverſies*: with a Reſerve ſtill, or an *Always provided* (as our *Lawes* have it) that the greater, and more difficult, and weighty matters be brought unto *Moſes*; by which it appears, that he under God was their *Supreme Judge*, *Captain*, *Leader* and *Conductor*.

After *Moſes* death, *Joſhua* ſucceds him, of whom firſt it is teſtified, *that the Spirit of* Moſes *reſted upon him*, that is, he was the Peoples *Chief Captain*, and *Judge*, though the *Sanedrim* ſtill continued, for that remained an Ordinance in *Iſrael*, till the coming of the *Meſſiah*, (although perhaps with ſome variation) yea it is further added, *that the Lord promiſed to be*, and was, *with him*, as he was with *Moſes*, and the people *obeyed* him, as they did *Moſes*. I dare ſay, and affirm, that no *King* of *England* ever did aſſume, nor any would hereafter deſire a larger extent of *Authority*, over *Subjects*, then *Joſhuah* had, and exerciſed over *Iſrael*.

After *Joſhua* ſucceed the *Judges*, who all of them exerciſed the *authority* (although they wanted the *title* of *Kings*, yet one of the Sons of *Gideon*, *Abimelech*, born of a Concubine, had both the *power* and *title* of a *King*, and was a *Tyrant*; yet was he none, to whom

whom, and in whom the promiſe of bleſſednesse was made, which was not accompliſhed till *David's* time.

Adde to this, that the *Glory* of *Iſrael* was never *compleat* but under *Kingly Government*, no nor till the promiſed *Kingly ſtock* came. Before, they were ſold now to this *heathen* King, now to that, *oppreſſed, burdened*, and *afflicted*; yea, and in the time of *Saul*, the *Philiſtims* oppreſſed *Iſrael* ſorely, inſomuch, that you ſhall finde *Saul* with a ſlender Army, and them following him trembling, on the other hand, the inſulting *Philiſtims* reproaching them, when they ſaw any of them to appear, Theſe *Hebrews* come out of their holes into which they were crept to hide themſelves: Untill *David*, the *Choſen* of the *Lord* comes to ſit upon the *throne*, and to have the *Kingdom* eſtabliſhed unto him over all *Iſrael*, as well as *Judah*, then he fights the Battles of the Lord, and God gives him Victory on every ſide, untill the name of *Jacob* became famous among the Nations.

And it is worth obſervation, that after the death of *Joſhua*, and the *Elders* who out-lived *Joſhuah*, who had ſeen Gods great works, no *Ruler* being then in Chief, the Children of *Iſrael* ask counſel of God, who ſhall go up firſt to battell, and God gives anſwer

answer, *Judah* shall go up first. Now the *Sanedrim* or *Common-wealth* of *Israel*, had a time to be tryed, how good a *Government* that was, yet then you shall finde, the Children of *Israel* making peace with the Nations about them, contrary to the expres command of God, by *Moses* and *Joshua*, severely injoyned, and often reiterated: Then comes the Angel with that sad message, which made them lift up their voyce and weep, so remarkably that the place from it took the name of *Bochim*, or *place of weeping*. Then was that prævarication of *Israel*, not to be expiated but by reiterated, and tedious servitudes, under *Heathen*, neighbouring *Princes*, whom they forbore to extirpate, according to the Command of God. Then comes the time of which the Holy Ghost testifies *that there was no King in Israel, and every one did that which was right in his own eyes*, This was the *Interstitium* of *Government*, (that of the bare *Sanedrim* or *Seventy Elders*, being reputed by God as none at all) in which the *Levites Concubine* was, with unheard of brutish inhumanity, ravished to death, which barbarous abominable action was revenged, with almost the whole extirpation of one great Tribe in *Israel*, to wit *Benjamin*, forty thousand stout men, being left in two

preceding Battels, on the part of the Eleven other Tribes, and after this, the *Jabeſh-Gileadites* utterly cut off (all the males to wit, and married women) becauſe they were *Anathematized* by a *Solemn Vow* of the Congregation, for not appearing before the Lord in *Mizpah*, in revenge of this deteſtable Rape upon the Tribe of *Benjamin*.

By which it is evident, that the *Government* of *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, and the *Judges* was accounted by God as *Kingſhip*, and the want thereof, is by Divine inſpiration reputed as a *total defect* of *Government*. *There was no King in* Iſrael, *therefore every man did what was good in his own eyes*: Yet at that time it is evident, (by the ſame ſacred authority) that there were *Elders* of the *Congregation*, otherwiſe called the *Chief* of the *Tribes*, who conſulted upon this act, (of thoſe of *Gibeah*) committed againſt the *Levite*, upon his Concubine, and who, upon the *Benjamites* appearing armed to defend the fact, managed the Warre againſt the whole *Tribe*, who devoted to *deſtruction* (by a ſolemn Curſe in *Mizpah*) what City, Town, or Family ſoever, ſhould not appear to revenge this wickedneſſe: Who repented after, that a Tribe ſhould come ſo neer to periſhing

periſhing out of *Iſrael*, Who adviſed a way to the *Benjamites*, how to ſupply them (that ſurvived that great overthrow, and maſſacre of their Brethren) with Wives, having before given an *Oath*, with a Curſe (to all the people) upon whoſoever ſhould give a wife to a *Benjamite*. A man would think, that here were *Government* good enough, if a *Republican Government* were worth *eſtimation*: But notwithſtanding it is teſtified, that no *King* being in *Iſrael*, *every man did what was good in his own eyes*. The miſeries brought upon *Iſrael* during the Interval, between *Joſhua* and the *Judges*, *Samſon* and *Samuel*, were ſo great and overwhelming, that *David* a great Warrior, and with whom God was, ſpent his whole Reign, in fighting the Lords Battels, and making up thoſe defects, and amending ſuch faults, which were committed during the ſpace, that there was *no King in Iſrael*, who therefore, being as the Holy Ghoſt ſtyled him, *a man of bloud*, was put off from building the Temple of the Lord, (although it was in his heart, and God accepted therein his good intentions) but this work was reſerved to *Solomon* his *Son* and *Succeſſor*, a *King* of *Peace*, and bleſſed with Plenty and all manner of Proſperity, (and ſo Chriſts Type) in whoſe dayes *Jeruſalem*

rusalem was the renown of all the Nations round about, who payd Tribute to *Solomon*, and counted it their glory and happiness to be his Friends and Allies.

Adde to this, that during the Reigne of *David*, *Jerusalem* first came to be subject to *Israel*, (being formerly in the possession of the *Jebusites*) which was the only place chosen by God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, out of all the Earth, to put his name there, here was *Zion* the holy place, out of which the Lord vouchsafed to distill his blessing, First upon his chosen people, and by their means upon all that fear him, in all Nations, making no difference. After *David*, comes *Solomon* mighty in power, and extent of *dominion*, (for the bordering Nations were his tributaries, to the great River, yea and beyond it) splendid in *magnificence*, abounding in *Riches*, incomparable for *Wisdome*, yet blessed with *Peace*, he builds a *Temple* for the *Lord* of *Hosts*, and a *place* for the *God* of *Jacob* to dwell in, who sitting in the high and holy Heavens and whom the Heavens of Heavens cannot contain, yet vouchsafed to dwell between the *Cherubims*, which *Solomon*, had made according to the pattern given to him from himself. Of this performance God himself testifieth, *that from the day that Israel*

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came out of Ægypt, he had no houſe to dwell in, but was content to dwell in *Tabernacles,* in which (being made according to the pattern, ſhewed by God to *Moſes,* in the Mount) were put the *Arke,* with other *holy things,* belonging to *Gods worſhip*. and ſo continued till *Salomons* time, as ſhewing that God *dwelt* not, but did then only *Sojourn,* (as it were) with them ſure til the time of *Salomon,* then firſt among the *Iſraelites* was *Religion,* not only in *purity*, but alſo *flouriſhed,* Gods name was not only known to be great and holy, but it alſo *appeared* moſt *glorious.* Then did *truth* appear *triumphant* in the *Beauty* of *Holyneſſe.*

After *Salomon* in the hands of ſeverall ſucceſſive *Kings* the *Government* continued, untill the Captivity, although God to chaſtiſe the ſinnes of *Salomon,* (according to his Covenant with *David* his Father, in caſe his ſonnes ſhould forſake his Law) rent tenne tribe from his *Sonne Rehoboam,* and his ſeed yet continued he the *Government* of *Kings,* till the Captivity unto them; among whom ſome were more *eminently good; proſperous* and famous, as eſpecially *Hezekiah,* and *Joſiah,* others *wicked,* and *Idolatrous, forſakers* of Gods Lawes, and therefore *afflicted.*

After the Captivity in the time of the *second Temple*, the *Jewes* had many changes of *Governours*, and Conditions as is largely related in the history of *Flavius Josephus*, but flourished under none comparably to *Monarchicbal Government*, and although for a long time, the *High Priest* was, and ruled, as their *Prince*, however he changed not the *Kingly Constitution* into that of a *Republique*, as Historians will fully satisfie any man that desires information therein, Yea and during the *second Temple*, before Christ it is certain, that then was their time most troublesome, their Condition most lamentable, and to be pityed, their distractions almost ruinous, when the true succession from *Shealtiel* to *Zerobabel*, &c. was interrupted, then were they sold as it were, for a prey to the neighbouring Grecians; and to other enemies, who by frequent incursions, and in a manner devastations of them almost ruined them, only now and then God sent them *Princes*, who were *deliverers* and *famous Captaines*, such as the *Machabees* and others, of whom *Josephus* in his History instituted (*de bello Judaico*) gives a cleer large and full account.

To this agrees that the Jewes alwaies did expect the *Messiah* to be a *Prince* a great *Ruler* and *deliverer*, and (to use the disciples words

words, to Chriſt when he was about to leave the World) *One who ſhould reſtore the Kingdome, unto Iſrael.* And ſo (although in another form then the Carnall *Jews* expected him) Chriſt is come, the true King of *Jews* which he denyed not unto *Pilate*, when it was asked of him. If or no he were a *King*, but anſwered, *It was ſo*, and added *that for this end he came into the World, to bear witneſſe unto the truth*, with *truth* the blind *Jewes* not perceiving rejected him, and in him their own mercy, yea they *crucified* him and in him their true *KING* the *Lord of Glory*.

And now Mr. *Milton* I am come to that which you ſeem moſt willing to be at (*viz.*) the *Command* and *example* of our bleſſed *Lord* and *Saviour*, *Jeſus Chriſt*, which as you conceive expreſly prohibits *Kingſhip* to any of his diſciples branding it with the marke of *Gentiliſme*.

Surely Sir, the Proverb is in you veryfied, *None ſo blind as he that will not ſee*, (I ſpeak not this of your *Corporall blindneſſe*) for that, (God is my Judge) I pity, but of your better *eyes*, (*viz.*) the *underſtanding*, which (methinks) cannot be ſo *palpably blinded*, as you would make appear it is.

We ſhall eaſily grant you, that Chriſt there ſpeaks of *temporall dominion*: but he ſpeaks to

his *Diſciples*, or rather *Apoſtles*, who were his *family* and *houſhold*, who to the very day of his aſſention knew not but that he intended at laſt to appear a *temporall Prince*. Now *Chriſts Kingdome was not of this World*, as he himſelf teſtyfied when he was *betrayed*, if it had been *his ſervants would have fought for him*, thoſe daies of his converſe upon earth were the daies of his *humiliation*, in which his *Kingdome* though reall was *inviſible*, the Captain of our Salvation, being to be made perfect by ſufferings; So that the check his Diſciples received from him, concerning their ambitious deſire not only diſalow *Kingly Authority* among them, but all *temporall power*. For it is appareut that the two Sonnes of *Zebede*, by their Mothers interceſſion, did not deſire to be both *Kings* but only his *chief favourites*, in his approaching Kingdome, which they carnally imagined, was near that one might ſit at his right, the other at his left hand therein. Upon which he teacheth them the nature of his *Kingdome*, that it was at preſent to be begun and carryed on with ſuffering. Upon the indignation of the other tenne, (when they heard this) follows this diſcourſe of Chriſt, in which he ſpeaks not only of *Kings* that bear *dominion*, but of thoſe that are *great* and *grandees*, and are therefore

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called *gracious Lords*, Not unlike to the *Hogben Mogben*, Heers of *Holland*, What you inſinuate of a *Free Common-wealth*, Comming neareſt as you conceive, this *Pattern*, and *Precept*: I conceive you would have it underſtood of our *bleſſed Republique* from 48 to 53. Wherein our *humble Servants*, (as you term them) who were alſo (if we be ſo mad as to believe them) the *ſervants* of *God*, ſerved both *God* and the *Nation*, whom they pretended equally to be ſerviceable to, a ſcurvy trick, and in an ill-favoured way, *breaking* their *Oaths* and *Vowes* with *one*, and their *ingagements* with the *other*.

But as for their ſerving at their own coſts and charge, I wiſh you would be ſo farre a friend to *Church* and *State*, as to make that true; I am ſure, for that lamentable ſervice they did for *God*, in *ſilencing* his *Miniſters*, and almoſt *deſtroying* his *Worſhip*, they took from him, whatever for many ages paſt, had been pioully dedicated to the maintenance of his ſervice; and for the never to be forgotten ſervice done to the Nations, they did what they could both to *ruine* and *beggar Majeſty*, undid the *Nobility* and moſt of the *Gentry*, and *ſqueezed* the *Commons*, till they wrung out from them, their *radicall moiſture*, and almoſt their *heart-bloud*. As for their walking

walking the ſtreets like other men, it would be well for them, as the caſe now ſtands, (bleſſed be God for it) if they could do ſo, having deſerved ſo much *hate* and *vengeance* from all.

But to return to your Scripture, you are not ignorant Sir, I make no queſtion, that many things which Chriſt ſaid to his Apoſtles, and which he gave them in Precept, was but for the time, and ſuited to the preſent occaſion, as when he commanded them to go forth without *Proviſion*, of *Clothes*, *Meat*, or *Money*, or *Staffe*, yet afterwards he commanded, or rather adviſed them, *That he who had Money, ſhould make uſe of it, and he who had no ſword ſhould ſell his Garment and buy one*, He that expounds that precept of Chriſt, as given to all Chriſtians, and to be perpetually binding (which was by you cited) I dare promiſe him he ſhall not ſtop at *Kingly Government*, but upon the ſame rule ſhall in fine, *reject* all *Authority*. For at that time Mr. *Milton*, you know, many of the *Gentiles* were *governed* by *Republiques*, as to their own Formall conſtitution, although they acknowledged and payd a Homage to the *Roman Empire*: Nor was it then out of memory, ſince the *Romans* were themſelves a *Formall Common-wealth*, the bloudy diſputes for

for it againſt *Imperial Monarchy* being ended but a ſmall time before the birth of Chriſt. You may read how our Saviour refuſed to divide an Inheritance between two brethren, and yet the Apoſtle *Paul*, who thought he had the *Minde* and *Spirit* of *Chriſt*, (and I hope you do not queſtion it) accounted it a ſhame to the *Corinthian* Chriſtians, that they were either not able, or unwilling to determine a Controverſie between Brother and Brother. But I moſt wonder, that you in your reading did not obſerve, or would not take notice, that this *ambitious ſpirit* of being *greateſt*, was more then *once* the *fault* and *infirmity* of the *Diſciples*, and ſo more then *once* reproved: When Chriſt took a little Childe and ſet amongſt them, and ſaid, *Whoever receiveth not the Kingdome of God as a little Childe, ſhall not enter therein*: That this ſpirit was the ſame of Temporall greatneſſe, is certain, for they had learned, that the *power* of Chriſt, and the *Gifts* by him given to them, were *freely beſtowed*, and ſo they were commanded *freely* to give them: No Divine ever yet conceived, that they contended who ſhould exceed in the *gifts of grace*, nor doth Chriſts rebuke imply any ſuch thing, for he propoſed to them the example of a Childe, free from

from ambition and animoſity. If you would from hence inferre the *management* of *Chriſtian States*, and *Commonwealths* by *Children* or *Infants*, you might do it with the ſame *Reaſon* you made your forementioned *Inference*, and I ſhould reply that of the Prophet to you, *Wo be to thee O Land! when thy Prince is a Childe.* Your other Scripture by which you would confute thoſe who ſtand up for *Kingly Government* of *folly* and *brutiſhneſſe*, I am ſure is *ſimply* brought in, and *brutiſhly* applyed: Becauſe the *Wiſeman* ſends the *ſluggard* to the *Piſmire*, who without *King* or *Ruler* manifeſts unwearyed diligence in the *Summer* to provide for *Winter*, that he may learn underſtanding from her, you conclude (quite from the Text) that they who think *themſelves* or the *Nation* undone without a *King*, let them ſeem what they will, have not the true underſtanding of a *Piſmire*. 'Tis well *Salmaſius* is dead, or elſe in recompenſe of your allowing him to be only, and ſcarce a good *Grammarian*, he would from this place have convinced you of want, of both *Grammar Logick* and *Divinity*, or elſe that you are pleaſed to make little uſe of either here. *Grammar* will tell you, that the Clauſe (*having no Ruler Prince* or *Lord*) is within a *Parentheſis*, and may be left

left out, and yet the ſenſe intire. Alſo that ſpeaking to the *ſluggard*, and ſending him to learn *Wiſdome* from the *Piſmire*, implyes no more, but that he would have him diligent, while the ſeaſon calls for it, not that he adviſeth him to form or eſteem *States*, and *Politick Governments* by her Example, *Conſider her wayes* (ſaith the Wiſe man) *how ſhe provides her meat in the Summer, and gathers her food in the Harveſt*; he ſends him not to conſider her *Conſtitution*, how ſhe had no *King*, but her *wayes*, or what ſhe *doth*, being ſo without *King*, *Ruler* or *Lord*, *Logick* would alſo teach you, that the addition of that Clauſe, by way of *Parenthoſis*, doth adde only an *Emphaſis* to his *Exhortation*, or rather *rebuke*, and includes barely an argument *a fortiori*, and *abſurdo*, that if an *irrational Piſmire*, without *Lord* or *Ruler* doth thus and thus, much more ought a *rational Man*, living under a *wiſe* and *diſcreet Prince*, and *Prudent Governors*, uſe the ſame *diſcretion* and *diligence*, and what an abſurd folly, and fooliſh ſhame it would be, if he did otherwiſe. *Divinity* alſo would teach you, not to *wreſt* and *torture* Scripture, you know him who hath teſtified of many that do ſo to their own deſtruction: You cannot imploy it to a worſe end, then by it to reproach

and

and caſt contempt upon *Dignityes*. Do you think *Solomon* or the Holy Spirit by which he wrote intended any ſuch thing in them words which you gather from them? Himſelf was a *great*, *glorious*, and *Magnificent Prince*, and begins his *Proverbs* with the addition of his title (*King of Iſrael.*) So alſo his Book of the *Preacher*. I wonder that you could hit on this obſcure mentioning of a *Prince*, in one Text, relating to a *ſluggard*, and *Piſmires*, and overlook many plain Texts, teaching *honour*, and *obedience* due to the KING, *My Son fear God and the King*, &c. the *fear* of *God* and the *King* are *Coupled* together, by an *inviolable knot* of Gods own making. So in another place, *Curſe not the King, no not in thy heart*, &c. But moſt evident is this of the *Proverbs*, for the *dignity* of *Kingſhip*. *Seeſt thou* (ſaith the wiſe man) *him that is diligent in his buſineſſe, he ſhall ſtand before Kings, he ſhall not ſtand before mean* (or *obſcure men*. It would be ſmall incouragement to diligence in buſineſſe, if a man thereby ſhould only preferre himſelf to be a *Slave* and *Vaſſal*, as you inſinuate, ſtanding before *Kings* to be, he might better neglect it, and injoy the happy liberty of ſtanding before mean and obſcure men, ſuch as you would have our *Common-wealth* framed

of a

of: And we were in a likely condition to have been brought to that paſſe, could your *Favoritet* and *Patriots* have accompliſht their *deſigns*, concerning whoſe *Quality*, Mr. *Walker*, in his *Hiſtory* of *Independency* will ſatisfie any curious man, if he be rationall. To mention all places in the *Scripture* that mention with *honour*, and command *Conſcientious Obedience* to *Kings*, would be tedious, and it would be only (*agere allum*) Mr. *Prynne* hath fully and judiciouſly performed that: It is enough that it was never queſtioned till theſe bleſſed times of *Atheiſtical Liberty*. Chriſt was born under an *Emperor*, not during the time of the *Roman Common-wealth*, under *Auguſtus Caſar*, at that time the whole world was at *peace*, the *Prince* of *peace* then appearing, then was the Temple of *Janus* ſhut, which never fell out during the time of the *Republican Conſtitution* of *Rome*: And Chriſt, who was born in *Bethlehem Judea*, yet converſed chiefly in *Galilee*, a *Formal Kingdome*, under *Herod*, beſides its *ſubordination* to the *Roman Empire*, where alſo he did moſt of his *mighty works*, where he appeared firſt, and converſed chiefly after his *Reſurrection*, and then no Chriſtian doubts, but he begun his *Kingdome* of *glory*, in his own perſon. In his life time, being asked Tribute, although he

he firſt made it appear, that *Peter* and he, (being *children* and not *ſtrangers*) were free from the *payment of Tribute*, yet payd it, and wrought a miracle to that end.

But I ſhall not urge this ſubject farther, foraſmuch as the Scriptures *commanding* us to *pray* for *KINGS* in the firſt place, the Precept of Chriſt to *render to Ceſar what is Cæſars*, with other Scripture Rules, of *fearing God*, *honouring the King*, joyned in one ſentence, of *branding* ſuch who condemn *Authority* and deſpiſe *Governments*, of being *ſubject for the Lords ſake to all that are over us*, *to the King as Supream*, &c. all being *New Teſtament* Precepts, together with the *paterns* and *practiſes*, and *profeſſions* of *Primitive Chriſtians*, have all been urged fully and ſatisfactorily to the Ingenuous by learned Mr. *Prynne* the *honour* of our *Engliſh Nation*, in this time of the *generall Apoſtaſie* and *prevarication* of this *Nation*, from their duty to their *King*, and yielding obedience to *Gods commands*, and Chriſts, and his Apoſtles both *Precepts* and *Preſidents*, and the Churches *pattern* and *practiſe*, for theſe ſixteen hundred years, and upwards.

I ſhall return to the aſſertion before layd down, namely *that Monarchy was the beſt of Governments*, to which I added that *ours* was the

the *beſt* of *Monarchies*, as to the *dignity* of *Monarchy*, or *Kingſhip*, (to uſe the *new* word put upon our *former* Government by the *Rumpers*) to both of which I have already ſpoken, and urged (as to the *excellency* of *Kingly Government*) Gods promiſe to *Abraham*, and the accompliſhment thereof under *David* and *Solomon*, that Nation never being ſo famous, ſo glorious, and ſo flouriſhing, as during their *Reigns*, beſides whoſe examples, let the whole world be ſought for inſtances, and never ſhall we finde the *magnificence* of a *Common-wealth* comparable to that of *Monarchies*. How did the *Roman Empire* in *Auguſtus* time, excell in glory the ſame *Roman Common-wealth*: And yet who knows not, that is moderately verſed in the *Roman* Hiſtory, that their very *Common-wealths* were but *nominally* ſo, *really Monarchies*: What were the *Conſuls* but in ſtead of a *King*, and the *Senate* his *Councill*. Which *Conſuls* though two, yet how oft ſtood one for more then a *Cypher*? What was *Bibulus* joyned with *Julius*, but as his ſhadow? What was *Antonius* with *Cicero*, when he without mentioning the other, boaſts of himſelf, not privately, but openly, even to Envy, *O fortunatam natam me Conſule Romam.* You will ſay the *Conſuls* were changed yearly: Granted, but had they

ſtood longer it had been better, however the *Senate being for life*, and the *Conſuls* choſe out of the *Senate*, they were better able to underſtand the *ſeries* of *affairs*, yet how did one *Conſull* envying his *Predeceſſor* carp at what Lawes were made in his time? and labour to diſgrace and repeal them? the other making a party, ſtood up and maintained them? Thus the *Agrarian* and the *Portian* Laws, with many others, that might be named, were polemically handled in the Pulpits, and diſputed in the field by bloudy battels, that it was not amiſs which was ſaid by one concerning the *Agrarian* Law, *That the oppoſing and defending it had coſt as much blood, and made as many breathleſſe Carcaſes, as would dung as much Land, as was really benefitted by it.* How were they during their *Common-Wealthſhip* plagued with continual aſpiring minds, whoſe *thirſt* and *rage* was never quenched but with incredible bloudſhed? *Sylla*, *Marius*, the *Gracchi*, with many others may be reckoned up, whoſe ambition of overtopping all, proved almoſt the *Ruine* of their *Commonwealth*. How were they inforced ſometimes voluntarily to chooſe, ſometimes perforce to endure a Dictator which was a *King* or *Emperour*, with a new name, not much unlike to our *Engliſh Protectour*. When *Rome* was ſacht, the *Senate* ſlain, and all things deſperate, the

Capitol

Capitoll only remaining (in a manner) of that great City, the reſt turned into rubbiſh and aſhes, by the merciles flames, then ſomething like a *King* was found neceſſary, and that was a *Dictator*, who having done his work, and freed his almoſt ruined Country, in plain hearted ſimplicity, reſigned his *Dictatorſhip*, and was repayed his good ſervice, with the full meaſure of ingratitude. If upon a force put, a *King* or ſomewhat like a *King* be the beſt expedient, it is doubtleſſe beſt alwaies, for (*non minor eſt virtus* (*quam quærere*) *parta tueri*) *Furius Camillus* found how ungrateful his countrymen proved when by his means they were delivered, a good caution for men in *Supream Authority*, to look to themſelves. But to return to the *Roman Common-wealth*, ſo much admired, by our *modern Statiſts*, It will be no ſolæciſme to affirm that whatever was in it worth admiration was performed by ſuch who wanted nothing of a *King*, but the name and ſettlement, for want of which they were ever rent with diviſions, Conſpiracies and inbred tumults, often inforced to make, or to indure a *Dictator*, or *Protector*, or *High-Conſtable*, call him what you will, but an abſolute *Monarch* he was untill *Julius Cæſar* came, who firſt being choſen perpetuall *Dictator*, after aſſumed the title of *Emperour*, and as an *Empire Rome* flou-

rished as long, and was incomparably more glorious, then in its own condition when a *Common-wealth*. As for the *Civil warrs* in the *Empire* that were frequent and bloudy, it must be owned, that peace and warre are in the hands of God, by whom *Kings Reign*, and injoy peace or enmity at home and abroad. However the Reign of *Augustus Cæsar* and of severall of his *Successors*, shew evidently, how happy and how peaceable it is possible (if God please) for an incredible *Monarchy* to be for a long season: but the want of any example (at any time) for the like in a *Republique*, shews it to be next door to *impossible* that is beyond *Imagination improbable*. How glorious, how stately and magnificent was the *Babylonian*, *Assyrian*, *Persian*, and *Grecian*, Monarchies? And at this day the *Turkish*, *Tartarian*, *Persian*, *Chinensian*, *Æthiopian*, and *Indian* Monarchies? with that of the *Moores* in *Affrica*? These I name as *Heathenish*, but great *Monarchies*, And of *Christians* the *Russian*, *Polonian*, *German*, *Spanish*, *French*, and formerly *English* Monarchies, how famous are they, and were we. To which you oppose the *Venetian Seignori*, the *Low Country Boores* and the rude *Switzer Cantons* Because I find you good at *Comparisons* I shall be with you there and let the effect speak the cause.

And

And becauſe I perceive you liked very well of our *Conſtitution* from 48 to 53, as giving great hopes of a *glorious riſing Common-wealth*, I ſhal admit that time to come alſo into Compariſon with our ſelves under *Kingly Government*, during the *Reign* of our late *King* of *bleſſed memory*, (although unfortunate to the infamy of his Subjects, as many as were guilty of his Tragicall misfortunes) before theſe *ſad diviſions* appeared, which produced in your opinion ſo *glorious an effect*. As for the *Athenian*, *Lacedemonian*, and other *Grecian Common-wealths* they were of ſo old a date that the Hiſtory of them is ſcarce to be had *true*, and *certain*, and therefore I ſhall ſpeak little of them, but as by the by, perhaps I may glance at them, as you have done.

Firſt then, as to the *Venetian Seigniory*, I yeild its long continuance, its abounding in *Riches*, and traffique, but withall, I ſuppoſe, you wil eaſily grant the power of its troubleſome neighbour the *Turk*, and the fear of its other neighbours who would ſoon ſwallow it up if divided, hath been the chief preſervative of that *Common-wealth* under God, and given it ſo long a life. But yet the *Duke* of that *Seigniory*, doth not differ ſo much from a King, whoſe being limited to a double voyce, as things are carryed, ſignifies

as little to abridge him of *Kingly Authority*, as the *Nominal electiveness* of the *Emperour* of *Germany*, is a reall barre to the *Austrian* family. Yet let the *Venetian Policy*, thus farre speak for the *excellency* of *Kingship*. That one *Kingdome* of *Candia* which is in their jurisdiction, is the present irreconsileable bone between them and *the Turks*, the one having gained the most of the *Island*, (all in a manner) and having built *Mosques* there, and made places of buryall, is prohibited by his religion, to yeild up the same, by any treaty, or for any Composition, the *Venetians* on the contrary, having no *Kingdome* belonging to their Jurisdiction, but that will take no price to sell away the title, although the defending of it costs them annually an hundred times its value, whereas if they would quit it they might have both peace and a considerable price for it, yet refuse it obstinately, of so great esteem, do they account the title of a *Kingdome*. And to speak truth, the *Venetian* Government is suited to their territoryes, they grew up with it, and were no sooner considerable, but had such about them, who watched all opportunityes of swallowing them up, that if they were convinced of a better way of Government, yet was it impossible for them to change, a new

Policy

Policy, being like a new Garment, though never ſo much better then the old, yet will be a good while before it will fit ſo well and be ſo eaſy, ſo that if they ſhould endeavour a change, could they uſe the Celerity of Angels, in ſhifting out of one form into another before they could ſuit themſelves to it, or it to themſelves, they and their Government would be griped, and wreſted out of their hands, and they made a *prey*, if not to their cruell and *barbarous*, yet at leaſt to their *ambitious Neighbours*. As for *Hollanders*, if they be a *Common-wealth*, none of the leaſt cauſes is becauſe they are fit to make nothing elſe, being never but a *limb* of *Monarchy*, yet as farr as they are capable of it, have a *Prince* of *Orange*, who differs little really from a *King* only he may be ſaid to be *Rex bellaarum* he hath a company of malapert ſwiniſh unruly Subjects, whoſe revenue to which he is by the peace reſtored, lyes part in the *King* of *Spain*, (his former *Leige Lords*,) territories, ſome under the *Emperor*, ſome under the *French*. But among them and out of thoſe Provinces only that rebelled from the *King* of *Spain*, ſhould a King live and expect his Revenue he would be a ridiculous King of booriſh ſubjects. They indeed might be rich, but the *King a beggerly Prince*. They muſt be

then what they are *perforce* as a block of wood is beſt imployed to make *Beetles* to cleave other wood withall, if it be ſo knotty that it will ſerve for nothing elſe, or at leaſt nothing better. What a good *Common-wealth* think you *Holland* to be? A *Hotch potch* of many *Independent Juriſdictions*, joyning forces together upon neceſſity, to keep them from being puniſhed for their *Rebellion* againſt, and abjuring their lawfull *King*, that ſo they may mutually *ſecure*, *indemnifye*, and *keep harmleſs* each other, among whom are to be found ſome few relicts of *Antient Nobility*, which appear among, and have relation to the reſt, as here and there a great *Plum* in a Niggards *Plum pudding*, where not only the provinces are independent each on other but every *Village* is a diſtinct and I may ſay *Supream juriſdiction*, of it ſelf. Only the *King* of *Spain* like a great *Wolf* hath dared them, (as a *Hawk* over a hedg dares the ſmall birds) and they herd together, to oppoſe him, as a *herd of ſwine* will runne together to oppoſe a *Wolf*, with their young in the midſt, making a ring to defend themſelves. Some joynt Rules of *Confederacie*, the united *Provinces* (as they are called) have made among themſelves but indeed they are but as ſo many ſeverall flowers pickt and made up into a *Noſegay*,

which

which have no tye one to another, but a ſtring about all, thus they were at firſt united for fear of a *ſtring* or *halter*, and to this day they continue friendly to one another, and to the whole world upon the ſame account, ſo farre as they either get by them, or cannot be without them. And for the *Switzers* by degrees rent from neighbouring *Monarchies*, who but he that is a *Switzer* born and ſo would not defile his own neſt, can commend or ſpeak a word in commendation of their Policy, ſo farre from being deſireable, that it is ſcarce tolerable. As for the *Genevah Common-wealth*, the conſtant fear they live in, makes their politicall eſtate, undeſireable, yet are they not altogether *independent*, nor ſafe, but under the wing of that *Prince* whom they choſe for their *Protector*, And if the *Protector* be more honourable then the protected, then the *Monarchy* of *France*, muſt needs be preferred, before the *Nether landiſh Republique*, the protection of whom was offred to *England* and accepted by *France*. The *Switzers* alſo have their *Protector*, and ſo the *Hamburgers*, the *Geneveſe*, and in a word not any without protection, formally granted on one hand, and accepted by the other, that bears the face of a *Common-wealth*. And the *Protector* and *Patron* is

ſtill

ſtill a *Mixed*, and therefore of the two, *Monarchy* is the more *Noble* and *abſolute* Government.

Such a *Common-wealth* (Mr. *Milton*,) as *Holland* is I ſuppoſe you could wiſh, and would help to make *England*, but there is among them ſomething that you do not ſo well like and approve of, that is, the *houſe* of *Naſſau* or *Orange family*, Certainly, what honour or preheminence that family hath, we may ſay as old *Tobit* ſaid to his Sonne, concerning the Angells having half of what was brought back from their Journey, conſidering the many and good ſervices he had done *It is due to him*. So may we ſay, and the *Dutch* when time was acknowledged ſo much of this Princes *Grand-Father*, he deſerved all they did or could beſtow on him, or his poſterity. By his valour, proweſſe, friends, and Eſtate, at firſt they *rebelled proſperouſly*, and by the ſame afterwards, they were defended, from punishment of this their *Rebellion* ſafe and kept ſecure, to ſave whoſe legally forfeited lives and fortunes (if reduced) he hazarded and ſpent his own fortunes, and loſt his own life, while theſe merits of the *Grand-Father* were freſh in memory, and the *Sonne* ſurviving the *Father* might be, and was uſefull, and ſerviceable in the ſame kind, what honour

honour then too great, what accounted too dear for the houſe of *Orange*, though ſince they have with ſufficient ingratitude forgot the merits of the Father, Grand-father and great Grand-father, and would deal with the Iſſue of this their deliverer, as the unthankfull *Sechemites* did with the poſterity of *Jerubbaal*. This revolt of the *Hollanders*, I call it *rebellion*, as being its proper name, ſince it was a totall defection from, and taking armes againſt, and making warre upon their *undoubted Soveraign*, Tis true and I yeild that they had provoking Cauſe but whether upon this *provocation*, (and that very great) they did not ſhow much of Man, in the management of this *revolt*, I diſpute not, only give it the proper name of *Rebellion*, which in all caſes is not abſolutely ſinfull, though it never will looſe that its proper and unalterable denomination, as the Killing of a man, in never ſo juſt defence, yet leaves the fact *manſlaughter*.

But to return to their policy they are according to their own name, by which they call themſelves ſo farre from being a *Commonwealth*, that in the plurall number, they ſtile themſelves the *Hogben Mghen eſtates of the Low-Countries*, one juridically not depending upon the other, They were auntiently ſo many

many *Lordships*, or (in their own *Language*,) *Gravescapes*, which being no way subordinated to, or depending upon each other, agreed together only in a mutuall relation of *Subjection*, and equally owed *allegiance* to the *King* of *Spain*. Whose minister in those parts the Duke of *Alva* by unparelled and scarce before heard of *Tyranny*, and *barbarous Cruelty*, especially labouring and endeavouring to impose upon their Consciences; and to bring up amongst them the bloudy inquisition, that monstrous engine of inhumanity, exercised chiefly upon the score of *Religion*, they were compelled to take up armes, and rebell against their *Leige King*, which was prosecuted (on both hands) with that violence that the breach was made irreparable, and so they for ever *cast off*, and *solemnly abjured his authority*. So that now *Zealand*, *Gelderland*, *Utrecht*, *Mastrecht*, *&c.* are distinct Jurisdictions by themselves, and independing as to *Holland*, Yea the very great Townes of each province, Juridically depend not on any other, but are absolute among and within themselves, and the States although they convene together, it is not in the form of our *English Parliament*, or *Grand Counsell*, but only to advise each with other, to consider and consult, and thereupon to *perswade*, yet have not the least power

to

to *Compell*, So that all the other *provinces* together, cannot give one Law to *Zealand*, or to *Gelderland*, but the *Lords* of each *Province*, may do what they will; further then they can be wonne by *perſwaſion*, they cannot be *commanded*, by the reſt, though altogether agreeing. The ſame may be ſaid of *Amſterdam Roterdam*, the *Hague* or any other *Town*, whoſe own *Lords* or *Heirs*, are *Autocratical*, or inveſted with full power of themſelves, nor own they any *Commanding*, or *Prohibiting*, or any way *Coercive Power*, above, or without themſelves, their own *Walls* bounding, not only their *Towns*, but including *Supream juriſdiction* from which lyes no appeal. Such a paſſe you would have *England* brought to, & your *Country* is much beholding to you Sir for your *goodwill*. I ſuppoſe you expect no poſterity to leave behind you, that might curſe the *Fathers invention*, ſhould it take effect; You contrive very readily to have each *County* to have Law, and education for youth among themſelves, and each *chief Town*, (if not ſo named before) dignified with the *Title* of a *City*, that we may not come ſo farre for *Law* and *Juſtice*, only you are troubled at *Controverſies* which may happen between two of diſtinct *Counties*, and theſe you would have decided at the *Metropolis*, I ſuppoſe you intend

intend *London*, But becauſe, it was alwaies accounted as eaſy to found a *New City*, as to form, and eſtabliſh a *New Government*, it may be you have deſigned another *Metropolis* in your *Windmill brain*. But be it as it will, why may not the *plaintiffe* ſue ſtill in the *County* where the *defendant* lives, unleſſe he can by accident find him, or by ſome device get him into and arreſt him in the *County* in which himſelf dwels? and what need in ſuch caſe any *Metropolis* at all? And ſo what needs a *Gran Counſell*, but only Conventions to adviſe and Conſult, but what matter of enacting *Lawes* when every *County* may be within it ſelf *Supream?* Certainly Mr. *Milton*, you were very inconſiderate when you wrote that ready and eaſy way of eſtabliſhing a *Free Common wealth*. I ſhal not here urge the unpracticableneſs of theſe your fanitique *State-whymſit*, but aſke you (preſuppoſing them as you ſay eaſy, and ready juſt now to be put in practiſe) *Cui bono?* In what ſhall we be bettred there by? and tis like you may anſwer me, Peruſe my advice and there you will find the benefits thereof. There I find you give us hopes, that if we can but either *Cantonize England*, as the *Switzers*, or imitate the *Hollanders*, or the *Venetian*, avoyding the *Duke* of the one or the *Prince* of the other,

We

We shall first be free in *Civill* and *religious things*, and Secondly we shall have our minds made *Governours*, our *Spirits* ennobled, our *Courages advanced*, and be made *Valorous*, whereas otherwise we shall be curbed of our *Liberty*, and have spirits sutable to our Condition *base* and *degenerate*. Perhaps Sir you write experimentally. While you held your *obligation* to your *Wife*, which as your learned doctrine of *divorce* testifies, was an *insufferable yoak*, of which you could say, with the *Apostle Peter* concerning the Law, *It was a Yoak which neither you nor your fore-fathers could bear*, During this vassalage, I may imagine you, likewise to be so poor spirited as to fear an *Oath*, and to be inslaved to your *Allegiance*, and so farre to reverence *Authority*, as not to dare to bark at the highest thereof, to wit *Majesty*. But since you grew so wise, as to throw aside your *Wife* because your *waspish spirit* could not agree with her qualities, and your *Crooked phantasy* could not be brought to take delight in her, you then grew so free, that as for your religion you could take the *Christian Liberty*, to turn a *Libertine* at large, or in plain termes an *Atheist*, and as for your *Allegiance*, you found your self so free set from it, that you could without remorse discharge your filth at, and vomit forth your poyson against

Majesty,

majeſty, then you grew ſo valourous, that you could *ſwear allegiance*, and take the *oath* of *Soveraignty*, the *Covenant* alſo, or *Solemn League*, with the *Vow* and *Proteſtation*, the *Engagement*, alſo, without boggling or ſtarting, and reſerve Courage enough, for *twenty ſeverall*, nay *Contradictory Oaths*, if reformed Authority, (in plain tearms *rebellious Uſurpers*) require it, and hope of profit or danger of loſſe, invite to, and back it. Truly Sir you are in my judgment a valiant man grown, who durſt not only adventure againſt the moſt learned *Salmaſius*, but had the impudent confidence to ſnarle, and bark at the moſt *ponderous*, *Judicious*, and *Matcheleſſe piece*, his *Majeſties* *ROYALL MEDITATIONS*, intituled Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

But Sir, upon a ſerious, yea a ſlight enquiry, we ſhall finde no ſuch qualities among either the *Hollanders* or the *Switzers*, as to make us in love with them, but we may truly ſay, *There is no King there*, therefore, *every man doth what is good in his own eyes*. The *Dutch* is a Booriſh Nation, where Courteſie and Civil Entertainment is as much a ſtranger, as in moſt places in *Chriſtendome*: All that can be ſaid, *A man for his money ſhall have what he can bargain for*, that the Town or houſe (in which he is) doth afford, but ingenuity

genuity, learning, piety, misery, and whatever may move a charitable respect, if by Gods Providence, they happen to be separated from money, a *Turk*, or a *Jew* will afford a *Christian* as much relief, as a *Dutch* man will such a person, so that it may be the Inscription there upon the Gate of every Town,

Ipse licet veneris musis comitatus Homere,
Si nihil attuleris, ibis Homere foras.

They are *rich* I yield, their dexterity lying in that one thing (chiefly) *getting Money*, for to compasse which they account scarce any thing sordid, their affability excells not the *Scotch Highlands*. *Riches* is the standard of their advancement. And as they have *Popular Rulers*, so they receive from those whom they govern but *popular respect*. Two *North* Countrey Farmers in *England*, where one excells the other in Estate, shew much more respect, the *poorer* to him that is *wealthyer*, then the *Dutch* Boors give to their *Heers*. That this *rusticity*, and *churlyesse* is the *effect* of their *Government*, is evident by their neighbouring *Flandrians*, who still retain their *allegiance*, no men in the world more *candidly open breasted*, *civilly courteous*, *pitifully*

ebenitable then they, who were formerly one *Arch-Duteby* with the other revolted *Provinces*, a moſt clear argument of the degenerate effect of *Popular Government*, for when *Governors* approach ſo neer to the *Governed*, in quality, and deportment, they become quickly like the block in the Fable, which *Jupiter* threw down to be *King* among the *Frogs*. The bounce of it made the Frogs tremble, but when the flaſhing of the water (which it cauſed by its fall) was over, they drew near by little and little, and at laſt (caſting away all fear) clambered upon and skipt off from it, and in concluſion contemned it So a *Dutch Governour*, or *Lord*, when he flounces (as it were) upon a Thief or Murderer, or Coyner of falſe Money, of the like, he makes him to tremble; but, the reſt caſting away fear, will talk irreverently to and ſleightly of their *Heers*, nor make ſcruple to curſe them bitterly, if either they really do diſpleaſe them, or the others apprehend cauſe of diſpleaſure. As for the ennobling of the ſpirits of men, which you fondly expect, or at leaſt give hopes of, upon a *Common-wealth* account, it is moſt evident by experience, that nothing is more contrary.

Let

Let any man but cast his eye upon, and observe the *Switzers*, a rude, barbarous Nation, as to the generality, and although all of them professe the *Gospel*, and many of them the *Protestant Religion*, yet as to the fierceneſſe of their manners, they may in Compariſon of moſt *Christian Kingdomes*, be looked upon, as *Ovid* in his baniſhment, accounted the *Getæ*, and *Sauromab*, being put in ballance againſt the *Romans*. A ſavage Peaſantlike Nation, fit only for the warres, and to be imployed by almoſt any that will pay them. Who will they not fight for? yea, who will they not fight againſt for Money? Inſomuch, that in the Imperiall, *Brandenburgiſh*, *Polonian*, *Daniſh*, *Swediſh* Armies, yea almoſt in all expeditions of the *French*, in the number likewiſe of the *Tranſilvanian* Forces, you ſhall finde the *Switzers* ſerving as Soldiers: So alſo in the *Venetian* ſervice, and moſt of the *Italian* warres; *Rough brown*, deſperate men, ready to be imployed for, or againſt any Prince, wanting one of their own, to Civilize their ruder diſpoſitions, and to employ their brutiſh valour in more noble and honourable Atchievements, for the glory, and inlarging of the Territories, at leaſt the Juriſdiction or Fame of their own Nation.

So the *Hollanders*, what are they but the *Common Pedlars* of *Europe*, that to get a little Money, will comply with, ſpeak fair to, and at the ſame moment, betray the moſt confiding of their *Allyes*, and irrecompenſible *Benefactors*: How did they promote, and foment our *bloudy inteſtine Diſſentions*, to the end that they might ſcrape together a ſordid gain by fiſhing in our troubled waters? How will they mannage an *Huckſtering* warfare, as the Poet ſpeaks, (*Cauponantes bellum*) at one time *beſieging*, and *ſtraitning* with one hand, and with the other hand *relieving* the ſame *Town*, or *Garriſon*, as long as their Money laſts, and they can but *gain* by the *bargain*, and make their own Rates? What have they ſo Sacred, that they will not proſtitute for Profit ſake? What Articles of Agreement, but they will evade, or at leaſt run the hazard of breaking, openly or under-hand, and ſupply any place *beſieged*, with not only *Proviſion* and *Victuals*, but, with *Ammunition* alſo, and *Weapons defenſive*, and *offenſive*, Ships of *Warre*, or any thing elſe, perhaps to the ruine of a Deſign, or at leaſt irrecompenſable dammage of their Profeſſed Friend, who at that time with perhaps invaluable Charge, and hazard of mens lives, hath reduced his Enemy to that ſtrait, and yet

yet in the mean while, they will profeſſe as much *love* and *candor* as can be, to him, whom they *ſecretly* thus *injure*? What almoſt is it, that they act publiquely, in reference to their Neighbours, that they act above-board, but are either afraid, or aſhamed, or unwilling to own? Nay what is that even Impudence, and Impiety it ſelf would be aſhamed to act openly, that they will not bring about by under-hand dealing, if Profit invite to it? How in their *revolt* from the *King* of *Spain*, did they incourage the *revolt* of the *Portugal*? and how now do they aſſiſt the *Spaniard* againſt the *Portugal*? Who can ſufficiently ſet forth their *ſordid under-board play*, with all, (and as oft) as they pretend to agree with, and are moſt *friendly* unto? And call you theſe *Heroick ſpirits*, Mr. *Milton*? As for the *advancement* of men among them, according to their *merit*, it is evident to all that know them, that the meaſure of *merit* among them is only *Money*, which without either *wit*, or *honeſty*, or any *Good quality*, ſhall preferre a *ſordid Booriſh Churle*, to be one of their *Hogben Mogben* Heers. As for *Liberty of Conſcience* which you ſo much dote upon, and look upon it as inconſiſtent with any *frame* of *Government*, but that of a *Republick*, I grant you that it is allowed in

Holland, even to *infamy*, only they are as ſevere againſt the *Papiſts* as any: And what I pray you may be thought the reaſon of one, and the other? Not the *Heroick diſpoſition* that is in them, for what need they then fear the *Papiſts*? Or do they not think, that many *monſtrous Religions* are there tolerated, in compariſon of which the *Papacy* may be accounted *Saintſhip*? Only here lies the knot, which troubles them, The *Prince* to whom they were before *Engaged* by *Allegiance*, allowes *publiquely* only the *Romiſh Religion*, in his *Dominions* and *Juriſdiction*: Which *Religion*, if they ſhould admit, many they fear, would dwell among them, who might make a *Conſcience* of keeping *Allegiance* inviolable, and would urge againſt their *Proteſtantiſme*, that *ungoſpellike* rejecting their *lawfull King*, (although provoked by *perſecution*) and would cite the *practiſe* of the *Primitive Church*, unanſwerably *diſcountenancing*, and their *profeſſion* and *Doctrine*, loudly and openly *condemning* the ſame, by which means the multitude might be brought about to be *undeceived*, and *willing* to *entertain*, or at leaſt *deſire*, their *former Loyalty*. So that *Policy* not *Conſcience*, excluded from among them the *Papiſts*, and a ſordid deſire of *Gain*, ſet open the Flood-gates to all other *Religions*.

Among

Among which (if that may be accounted a Religion) *Atheiſme* is not excluded, but findes its *Sanctuary*. Now I pray you Sir, where is the *Magnanimity* of *Spirit*, that you boaſt of herein: When nothing that bears the *face* or carries the *name* of *Religion* is diſallowed, but that only which is the only *publique Religion* of their *former Prince*, left by entertaining it, his Friends ſhould be let in therewith, to the ſhaking of their new layd foundation, the chief ſecurity of which ſeems to conſiſt in their Nationall abjuring their formerly *ſworn* to *Soveraign*, not minding in the mean while the *diſhonour* done to *Gods name*, by thoſe multitudes of *abominable hereſies*, yea *damnable blaſphemous Doctrines*, which ſwarm in thoſe Countreys (*Amſterdam* eſpecially) as Frogs ſwarmed in the Land of *Egypt*, and yet they (the more the pity) are not at all *troubled* thereat, becauſe they bring *profit* and *commerce* along with them, but I wiſh they do not hereby heap up to themſelves *wrath*, which may be powred forth upon them in the day of *Gods Vengeance*.

When *no King was in Iſrael and every man did what was good in his own eyes*, then *Micah* made his *graven* and *molten Image*, his *Ephod*, and his *Terephim*, and hired a *Levite* to be

his *Prieſt*. Then was every man at his *liberty*, what *Religion* he would follow, a *King* only being ſo *generous ſpirited*, and *noble*, as to *Engage* that *Religion* publiquely to be *profeſſed*, which appears to him, and his moſt learned Divines, the *true*, and moſt *agreeable* to the *pattern*, and *precepts* of *Gods Word*, and *prohibit* whatever ſtrikes at this *foundation*, nor to ſuffer any *Rents* or *Sebiſmes* in the *Church*, (the inlets generally of farre greater miſchiefs both in Church and State) whereas a *Common-wealth* being but a *puny Authority*, is *compelled* to *tolerate* this, and that, and twenty *Hereſies*, becauſe ſome rich men or other are Favourites to all, and nothing keeps the moſt ruſtick Peaſant from being created the Greateſt Heer, or Lord among them, but want of a competent quantity of *Silver*, *Gold*, or *Merchandiſe*. Kings therefore in Scripture, are promiſed to *be nurſing Fathers*, *and Queens nurſing Mothers to the Church*, but no ſuch Promiſe concerning *Republican Lords*, let them be never ſo *high* and *mighty*.

Nor is this degenerate baſeneſſe of ſpirit viſible only in *Religious*, but as well, and as much in *Civil*, yea *Ordinary* concernments; and there is a naturall reaſon for it, ſince according to the Proverb, *According to a mans meeting ſo is his greeting*: Vulgar deportments find

find but vulgar reſpect; nor is it fit or likely, that he who puts little value upon himſelf, ſhould have greater put upon him by others that are about him. *Majeſty* and *ſtate* may be kept without *adoration*, but not without *humble*, and due *ſubmiſſive* reſpect. Too much familiarity in all relations, breeds Contempt. The ſtate and diſtance which *Solomon* kept, between him and his ſubjects, we finde regiſtred by the Penmen of Sacred Hiſtories, as part of his magnificence, and no ſmall portion of Gods temporall bleſſings caſt upon him, as an additional Supplement to that, for which he requeſted, to wit, *Wiſedome*. And I finde *Paul* the famous Apoſtle, appealing to *Ceſar*, from *Feſtus*, who was a *ſubordinate Deputy* to the *Emperor*, hoping for greater ſhelter (as to *Religion*) from the Head of all *Majeſty*, *Ceſar* himſelf, then from an inferior Subſtitute, or Lieutenant unto him: And we read in the laſt Chapter of the Acts, how long, and how free he lived, (conſidering him in bonds) at *Rome*, being arrived in proſecution of his Appeal, an evident argument that he expected, and doubtleſſe found more freedome under the *wing* of *Majeſty*, then probably he ſhould have had from an *Inferior Governor*, neerer allyed to the common rank of men. And

as in the perſecution of Religion, the greateſt favour is to be found (in probability) from *Majeſty* it ſelf, ſo in the protection, incouragement, and advancement of Religion, *Kings* and *Emperors* are unparallel'd *Fathers*, and *Nurſes* thereof: Witneſſe of old, *David*, *Solomon*, *Hezekiah*, and *Joſiah*, with many other godly pious *Princes*: And of late, ſince Chriſt, *Conſtantine* and *Theodoſius*, with ſeverall glorious, truly Chriſtian, and famous Emperours: And among us, *Edward* the ſixth, Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and (without regard to your raylingblack mouth) our unparallel'd *Martyr King CHARLES*; under whom how *glorious* was our *Church*, to the *admiration* of many, and *envy* of ſome of our Neighbours. During whoſe pious Reigns, if we will be poring only upon what was defective, and whining after what was to be deſired in our Church Diſcipline, we ſhew our ſelves very ungratefull to God and men, but if with thankfull hearts, we could have enjoyed, and prized what really was our Lot, beyond all who were about us, we might have ſaid truly, *Our lot was fallen to us in a pleaſant place, and we had a goodly Inheritance*, God not ſo *dealing* with *every Nation*, as he had with us, who therefore might be named the *darling of the Lord*.

Lord. It is the glory, happineſſe, and true beauty of a Nation profeſſing *Religion*, when the *face* of *man* is not *feared*, but *God* is ſo far *exalted*, that none is *acknowledged* beſide him *King* in the *Church*, and therefore, not only *Caterpillers*, and *Locuſts* are deſtroyed, and *Cattell* which browſe upon the *Vynes* kept out, but the *Foxes*, the *little Foxes* are taken, that *ſpoyl* the *Vynes*, they having on them *tender Grapes*. How glorious a thing is it, for a truly zealous, and pious *Prince*, to countenance and encourage the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, (ſuch I mean who overſee, and manage the ſervice of the Lord) that out of the Church may be excluded not only the *abominable*, and the *unclean*, but likewiſe every thing that *offendeth*? What more dangerous in the Church, which is the *Garden* of the *Lord*, then *Factions* and *Hereſies*? but what ſo fatall as the plucking up its *Hedge*, and throwing down its *Wall*? which is not, as many imagine, a fooliſh agreement, or Covenant of the people one with another, but a Chriſtian and conſcientious ſubmiſſion (for the Lords ſake) to thoſe who by Divine right, are appointed, and ſet over them, to maintain which pale inviolable, the *King* (when a true *nurſing Father* of the *Church*, as bleſſed be God we had many ſuch) is next to God

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the greatest *defense* on earth, on which score, not without cause, our Kings, have had, and deserved the name (several of them) of *Defenders of the Faith*, to wit, the *true Christian* and *Apostolick Faith*, concerning whose profession of, and owning so honourable a defense, we were bound, and still are to say with good *Nehemiah*, *Blessed be God who hath put such a thing as this into the Kings heart*; and to pray, *that he would more and more be his Guide, Counsellor, Director and Protector*, that under him *Religion* may *flourish*, and, we may once more be a *happy flourishing Nation*.

'Tis to be confess'd, that while the Church is militant here upon Earth, there will and must be *Offences*, and *Scandals*, this Christ hath pronounced, as absolutely necessary, and the contrary impossible, (although *woe* to them by whom they come) but for professed Christians, to be viewing, perusing, overlooking, and examining the Constitution of the Church, they live in, to be carping at, and inveighing against, the defects thereof, (practicall especially, where much that is practised, is not allowed, and wished by the Judicious, that it may be amended, as soon as may be with conveniency) and thereupon reviling, reproaching, and sepa-

rating

rating from the ſame, it argues, (in my opinion) thoſe who are but nominall, not reall *Chriſtians*; yet ſuch is the temper of moſt of our *modern, Giddy-brained Phanatiques*, who from Controverſies in *Religion*, fell *naturally* to dabling with *State* concernments, and have, without Gods infinite mercy, kindled in both our *Church* and *State*, an inextinguiſhable *Combuſtion*.

I ſhall come now briefly to take a ſhort view of what we were *before* theſe *unhappy late Warres*, and compare our condition *then*, with what we have been *ſince*, that ſo an eſtimate may thence be taken, what we are like in the *End* to come to, unleſſe God in mercy prevent our ruine, as he hath already, bleſſed be his Name given us great hopes.

Our Government and Governors, were of two ſorts, *Civill*, who ruled us as *men*, and *Eccleſiaſticall*, who were ſet over us as *Chriſtians*. Of *Civil Magiſtrates*, our *King* was *ſupreme*, a *true*, but not an *abſolute Monarch*: He had none above, or ſingly co-ordinate with him, and in *dignity* he excelled and went before all the reſt: Howbeit, his *Rule* or *Government* was purely *Paternall*, for as a loving and careful *Father*, (in managing the affairs of his Family) will conſult with his

his *Sonnes*, when grown to age, yea and with his diſcreet *Servants*, ſo the *Royal Father* of this great and flouriſhing Family, conſulted, not only with his *Nobles*, whom he honoured with the Title of *Kinſmen*, and who were (the moſt diſcreet and judicious of them) of his honourable *Privy Counſell*; but he adviſed alſo with his *Commons*, who for that end, choſe the *Chief men* of their *Shires*, *Cities*, and *Boroughs Corporate*, and intruſted them with *power* in their name, and for their welfare and benefit, to repreſent and lay open their *caſes*, *wants* and *grievances*, before the *King* and his *Peers*, and joyntly to endeavour, ſtudy, and finde out a way of redreſſe or relief of the ſame. They were ſtill the *Maſters* of their *own Purſes*, they not only raiſed, whatever Money was to be levyed, but adviſed together, and conſented to the diſpoſing of it. This *grand Counſell* was the *Phyſick* (under God) for the Nation, when it was *ſick*, or any way *diſtempered*, which the *King* (like a wiſe *Phyſician*) called, as oft as he, with the adviſe of his *Wiſe Counſell*, judged it needfull, either for the neceſſary cure of a *diſtempered State*, or the convenient preſervation, and farther beautifying or adorning a flouriſhing one. While things ran in this Channell, how

happy

happy was *England* in *Generall?* although ſome *particular* blemiſhes or puſhes in the Body politick, were *lanced*, *fretted* and made *ſore* by this means? But when the juſt indignation of God was come to its height, becauſe we were ſo *unthankfull* for *multiplyed bleſſings*, he then ſuffered this ungratefull Nation to loath *Manna*, and to long for *Phyſick*, to come into a courſe of *medicinal diet*, and to linger after firſt a *Triennial*, then a *perpetual Parliament*, which we have enjoyed ſo long, *nominally* at leaſt, though *really* the *Fagge end* only, or *Rump* of that *Parliament*, which was alſo ſore Ague-ſhaken ſeveral times, by diſgracefull and long Ejections, which yet they (willing to perpetuate themſelves) as oft as they came on the Stage again, called only *Interruptions*, however they cannot deny, but they made or ſuffered tedious *Exits*, which were as long as the reſt of the Play, and other Scenes, nay whole Playes were acted in the *Intervals*, I ſay we have endured ſo tedious a courſe of *State Phyſick* till we experimentally, and to our coſt, and ſhame, found the Proverb verified, *Medicè vivere, idem eſſe, ac miſerè vivere.*

At the Convening of this *Parliament*, what was accounted *grievous*, and ſo repreſented

to

to his *Majesty*, but he was willing to redresse it effectually? *Monopolies*, *Star-Chamber*, and *High Commission*, by his *Royall assent* abolished, and the *Council-Table* regulated so as to stand for little more then a *Cypher*, by his *Majesties permission*; and all because his people, whom he loved more dearly then his own safety, shewed a dislike of them and accounted them a burden. *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, willingly layd down at his *Subjects* feet: the *Militia*, and *Negative Voyce* so far granted from himself, that he left himself only power to be made a *Martyr* at his *Subjects pleasure*: Yea and for the *Episcopal Dignity*, he consented, they should be *stript* of whatever the *Parliament* thought fit, saving to them only their *Office*, which his *Oath* at *Coronation*, bound him indispensably to maintain. *O England! England! couldst thou but then have seen the things that belonged to thy peace, which soon after alas! were hid from thy eyes.* Yea the *Nation* did see it, yea the *Reverend Senators* were deeply sensible of it, the *Nobles* discovered evidently the true and only *cure* under God for the *Nations distempers*. Nor do I blame them, not yet the *major* part of them, but know, and they since have been made sensible, that a few *restlesse*, *dangerous*, *factious*, *pestilent spirits*,

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in both Houses, first breats, and then fomented a misunderstanding between his Majesty, and his Carefully loyal Subjects, which Coal being once kindled, they by the same cunning, but devilish policy, blew into the flame of a War; in which posture, all things could not be defended on either side, but his Majesty wanting the sinews of warre, could not possibly keep that discipline in his Army, which the Parliament did in theirs, and so Gods, Providence permitting, and our sins procuring, his Royall person being captivated, and his Forces dissipated, those whose loyall breasts only intended his welfare, and advancement in glory and Regimen, which they in severall Declarations protesting, and appealing to God as a Judge and Witnesse of the truth of their intentions, enforce me (as Christian) to believe to be their design, were convinced by several Treaties, that his Majesties, both actions, and intentions, were misrepresented to them, by some Boutefeus of State, and therefore relenting towards him, and his Royall Posterity, intended a speedy settlement of the Nation, in a Religious Peace; and had done it speedily, Question not, had not some perjurious, detestable Members, who were Ring-leaders, and after drew in other weak deluded Members, to joyn with them, but fro a

malice, (as I confidently perswade my self) cut off at once both the *heart* and *mean* of our *settlement*, and by that means, cast us ever since into a *Sea of Troubles*, where floods of miseries have been like quite to have overwhelmed us, had not God been gracious to us beyond our deserts, and spared this whole Nation from utter ruine, *for the sake of some pious and precious men, who have stood up in the Gap, and interceded for, yea prevailed with our long-suffering God, yet to spare us, to his Name be all Glory and Honour for ever.*

As for the *Commonalty* in the time of our former *long enjoyed*, (but not *truly prized*) *peace* where could the world shew a more *gallant Gentry*, where every private *Esquire* having an estate in the Country, or about the *City*, was as free in the injoyment of himself and his estate, as the *Prince* himself, from whom no man could legally demand one penny, which he was not free to in his Person, or had not agreed to, in his representative, our *Citizenry* had a rich *Trade*, and for wealth, *London* could compare with any *Metropolis* in *Europe*. Our Nation then was truely *Noble, gallantly generous, famous* for *Civility*, and *courteous entertainment*. Then were *promises* strictly, *Oaths*, and *Vows* sacredly and religiously observed,

objected, for what we did then, or atchieved, was not only, not so much, for our private Credit, and reputation, as for the honour of our *Prince* and *Country*. And those are the most honourable *Enterprises*, for he who looks no further then himself in his actions, may propound gain as his principall and last end, which is most sordid at the best, and because the grace or disgrace reflects only upon, and determinates in himself, he judges all by the narrow scantling of his own spirit, which is often poor and inferiour, whereas he whose actions reflect upon another, this raiseth the mind to an higher pitch of Gallantry, then is suitable to a mans own personall capacity. Thus a steward or servant to a generous *Noble man*, how is his deportment, and carriage, above that of a *Farmer*, or *Yeoman*, who perhaps is four times the richer man? Thus *Parentage*, and *Relations*, make many to scorne those actions as dirty which themselves would act confidently, and without check were their condition separated from their Relation. What think you would a *Dutch Boor* forbear, that were for his profit, for the *honour* of his *Hogben Mogben Heer*? When the *States* were low, and *King James* (one of the most *Royal friends* they had) wrote to them and sent an *Agent*, to ne-

gotiate with them, for the suppressing of the *Arminian Heresy*, how zealously did they persecute it, and yet afterwards, when it had been condemned for a *heresy*, at the great *Synod* of *Dort*, how sordidly did they tolerate both it, and all other *heresies*, when their cautionary Towns were in their own hands, and they judged themselves of strength considerable? And what other reason can be given for it, but that their Townes might be the Common sink of all *heresies* and *factious Schismes*, who with themselves might bring their *estates*, and make an addition to their *Trade*? How did they seem to mediate with the *Parliament* for the *King*, and yet when the most learned *Salmasius*, the honour of *Leyden*, most judiciously, and learnedly defended our *martyred King CHARLES*, to whom *Mr. Milton* (my present Antagonist) *replyed*, how did they heap *indignities upon* that *learned Professor*, for this most *Christian* work of his? in complyance with the *Rump*, who for that sordid service, requited them with Powder and bullets, to the endangering all their navall force, and hazard of the utter ruine of their Trade. Afterwards, how poorly did they buy a peace with *Oliver*, and underhand supply the *Spaniard*, his then professed, and their late reconciled *Enemy*? But

let

let us consider our selves and our own ways, and be wise, what *Gallantry* have we left in the *Nation*, but that we dare *Triumph* in *Villany*, and *glory* in our *shame*? What *Magnanimity*, but that in *defiance* of a *Deity*, we can take, and break as many, and as Contradictory *Oaths*, as *Reprobate perjur'd* Inventions can finde out? What *assurance* of *Estate*, but *All* the *Rump* with *Ahab* coveted it? then could they (as nimbly as *Jezabel*) find out *Mercenary* witnesses, to accuse a man of *Malignity*, and *swear* to the *accusation*, which was Conviction enough, and followed immediately with *Plunder* and *Sequestration*, if not *totall Confiscation*? Such was the lot of the Noble Lord *Craven*, and many others, whom if I should name, and give only hints at their Cases, I should fill a Volume: only to shew that their proceedings have been the same, to the last of their *Usurped Authority*, Deputy *Nodes* Case is not inconsiderable, who being a man of a true *English* spirit, and a better Patriot then any of Mr. *Miltons* commended *Saints*, had his house secured, and his Money violently and injuriously taken from him, which although it was restored as a Captive *Lamb* from the Jaw of a Devouring *wolf*, let him thank (next to Gods Providence) the declining *state* and ticklish

station of the *Rumpers*, from whom (had their power been any thing *Rampant*, as formerly it was) the redemption of his *Captiv'd Cayn*, had been equally improbable to the redemption of a *condemned soul* from the *bottomlesse pit*. Blessed be the God of mercies, who hath put a stop to their *mercilesse rage* and *fury*, therein making good his gracious promise, *That the anger, or rage, or fury of man, should glorifie him, and the residue he would restrain*. And we might well say, *Our soul was redeemed as a bird out of the snare*, it was *broken, and we were delivered*: And surely *had not God been on our side, when men rose up against us, we had certainly been swallowed up quick*: They who *Voted* and put in *Execution*, the *cutting down* the *Posts*, and taking away the *Chains* of the *City*, they who *Resolved*, and *Ordered*, the breaking down and demolishing, the *ancient Gates* and *Portcullices* of this so long famous City, had certainly, made an end of this their *rage* and *malice* in the *plunder* and *fire* thereof, according to their often reiterated, and most audacious *threats*: But God, whose Name we have cause for ever to blesse, put a stop to their *mercilesse* fury, *Blessed be his Holy Name for ever*.

And now Mr. *Milton*, when your thoughts are serious, take but a brief survey of our *former*

future Government, which you brand with Tyranny, Oppression, and Cruelty, and compare it with those worthy Patriots, whom your pity to your Country would have perpetuated in a Grand Standing Council. Did not they vilely perform, what Rehoboam only threatned to the Children of Israel, and by threatning caused a defection of ten Tribes in twelve, from his Obedience? Did breaking up of Parliament afflict us? Behold a Cromwell, the Demi-god of the Rump, their Creator, their Director, and lastly their Master, breaking first themselves, and then calling and breaking Mock-Parliaments as a Potter his Earthen Vessels on the Wheel. Did that, which you called an Illegal Exaction of Money vex you? Rejoyce in your Rump, who took away the twentieth part of all Real Estates, besides other Compelled Loans, Taxes, Excises, &c. from their Friends, and all or most, from their Enemies, whose only Crime was loyalty to their Prince. Did abridgement of Christian liberty molest you? you have been happy in the Fagg-end of a Parliament, that would allow Anabaptisme, Ranting, Quaking, Seeking, and what not? only abridged Episcopal men, (who were true Sonnes of the Church,) really, and the Papists nominally. But in truth, when were so many Jesuites,

and all sorts of *Popish Emissaries* (tolerated at least, if not underhand allowed) as during these times? In a word, if God hath not proportioned your Judgment to your sin, to the amazement of Strangers, and Neighbours, and the misery and smart of the Nation, then *rejoyce* in your *worthy Patriots*, and let them rejoyce in you, otherwise let fire, (nay a fire hath) come forth of these Brambles, to the destruction of our tall and glorious Cedars.

I have but a few words more, and I have done with you Mr. *Milton*, concerning Queen *Elizabeths* not enduring the *Presbyterian* Reformation lest it should eclipse the *Dignity* of *Monarchy*. The necessary connexure of *Kingship* with *Episcopacy*. The mercy of God to this City in preserving it from *Pestilence* during this time of hopefull Reformation. And lastly, the suspition of our present *Hereditary Kings* being *inclined* to, and *infected* with the *Popish Religion*, from his being necessitated for a long time, to crave and receive his *Maintenance*, or means of subsistance, from the *King* of *Spain*, a *Popish* Prince.

As to the first, I finde you acting like your self, (at least as you professe your self to be principled) clawing the *Presbytery*, to ingage

ingage it against *Monarchy*. For your Author, by you cited, I count it not worth while to examine him, if or no his sense by you be *perverted*, being most confidently assured that it is. He is an Author of worth, and lived in great repute, and esteem with his *Princes*, whom he served; upon which score, I am satisfied that he knowingly wrote nothing that was derogatory to *Majesty*: But if some kinde of *Rigid Scotch Presbytery*, entertain Tenents, which tend to eclipse the *honour* and *respect* due (by *divine right*) to the *Supreme Soveraignty*, so far it is condemnable, the *Church* of God disclaiming in its *primitive purity*, all such Doctrines, and declining such practises. Or if Fame might represent to that good pious *Queen*, things otherwise then they really were, (as we here frequently and confidently reported of the *Scotch Presbytery*, that they teach, and would practise the bringing their *Kings* to the *Stool of Repentance*) she upon this misreport might suspect it. Or perchance, (and that is most likely) she being a *wise* Princesse, and having a *choyce Council*, might observe the tempers of their spirits, who stickled most in the promoting that *Reformation*, and finding them to design, not only *Innovation*, as to the then setled *reformed Religion*,

gion, but distinctions also in State, might wisely put a stop to their pragmaticall intruding themselves into matters somewhat above their concernment: Otherwise, I seriously professe, that I know nothing in a *sober, moderate Presbytery*, but what may agree very well with, and will with *Conscientious piety*, yield all due reverence unto a splendid, powerfull *Monarchy*; they are *consentaneous* each to other, and may *co-habite* or dwell together in a Land, as *Moses* and *Aaron*, *David* and *Nathan*, *Hezekiah* and *Isaiah*: And this is most apparently manifest in the *Reformed Hugonites*, who are *Presbyterial Protestants*, and yet keep their *Allegiance* firm to, and pay *Customes*, *Tributes*, and all *due reverence* to their *Liege Soveraign*, the *French* King, although a *Papist*; nor do they account their *subjection*, only compell'd upon that score, but conscientiously they do, not only outwardly *obey* him, but in heart they *honour* him. So the *Waldenses* in *Savoy* and *Piemont*, who being so cordially *loyall* to their *Popish Princes*, can we imagine, that *English Presbyters* would have been lesse subject to, and honourers of their *naturall pious Protestant Kings* and *Queens*, then others are of their *Soveraigns?* who differ from them in *Religion*, and alwayes may be suspected, to bear

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an ill will to them, exercising not rarely most bloody cruelty in the massacring, and murdering of them. Although I doubt not but the example of our *English King-killing* Saints, being recommended by their *Agents* with what serious motives they could invent, to their *Neighbouring Protestants*, and perhaps liked well, and approved by some *false pretending Brethren*, among the *Huguenots*, and *Walloones*, with whom many in *Devilish policy*, pretending to be *Protestant Converts*, entertained such *English* bloody *Tenents*, with *approbation* and *applause*, and by menacing *threats*, gave severall Alarms to those *Princes* to whom they owed *subjection*; commending the *courage* and *Noble Valor* of our *English* RUMPERS, and boasting of *help* and *supply* from them promised, to attempt and put in practise such another *heroick feat* in their Nations. Our *Crimson Saints* on the other hand, boast and proclaim that this their *practise* shall be a *leading Example* throughout all *Europe*: In the mean time, the true *Conscientious Protestants*, protest against (both in *publique* and *private*) these *damnable Tenents*, and *execrable practises*; yet by this means the *Princes* of those *Subjects* are made jealous and suspicious of the *Protestants* Fidelity, (having such a *dangerous*

profident

president before their eyes) which Jealousie, (through the *Villany* of *false pretended Brethren*) is blown to that height, that the *King* findes no way of safety, but in chastising all, and cutting off many of these his *dangerous Rebellious Subjects*; in which Massacre, those *Villains*, who first kindled the *Coal*, make a fair Retreat, having betrayed so many innocent pious *Christians*, as Sheep to be slaughtered, they only feeling their *Princes* rage, who most *abominate* those *Rebellious Tenents* and *Principles*, by which their *Prince* at first was provoked and inraged. Observe here as in a *Landskip* the *piety* of our *Rumpers*, and what they have deserved of their Neighbouring *Protestant Friends*, by their *Example*, *Counsell*, and *vain-glorious boasting*; what a *leading Card* they had begun withall, and how it should be *playd round*, to the *confusion* and *pulling down* of all the *Princes* of *Christendome*: Hereby they have *betrayd* and *butcher'd* many thousands of the *Waldenses*, by the *Sword* of the *Savoyard*. And when God shall come to make *Inquisition for blood*, at their dores will all that *Christian blood* be found lying, and of their hands it will be required. If then the sent of the *Rump* were so *noysome* of late, how will they *stink* in Ages to come? How will

(the

(the then innocent *Babes*) the *Orphan Children* of those murdered *Protestants*, *curse* their memories? For ever shalt thou live in *ignomy*, and *deserved infamy*, *O most Bloudy Rump*, and the *Children* yet *unborn*, shall justly *detest* and *abhor* thy remembrance: *They loved Bloud, and thou (O righteous God) give them Bloud to drink, and let that be their portion, for they are worthy of it.*

But (by the way) I question not, but the *sober*, *modest*, and *pious Presbyterians* will see your *Delusion*. You urge not Queen *Elizabeths* averseness to their *Reformation*, as accounting it to be indeed *Reformation*: Your contrivance to eject *Hirelings* out of the *Church*, by taking away *Tythes*, shewes how well you like them, or any other true *Gospel Preachers*, when you discover it to be your design to have all *Maintenance* for the *Ministry*, to be paid out of the *publique Exchequer*; for so, what could be expected more from such *Preachers*, then was found in *Ahabs* Prophets? who eat their *Bread* at his Wife *Jezabels* Table? It is a fatal Plot against *Religion*, to have the *Maintenance* of all its *Ministers*, to proceed as a *State Gratuity*, bestowed upon them in *requital* of their *pains*, and *labour*. For what could be hoped in such a case, but that all must turn *State-*

pleasing

Pleasing Preachers, or *beggs*? and who upon that score would *educate* their Children, that they might be capable of the *Ministry*? or what conscientious man durst adventure on that *Profession*, in which he must goe against the *light* of his *Conscience*, or beggs?

But I shall leave this, as having I suppose spoken to it satisfactorily, your next whining complaint against *Monarchy* is, that *Episcopacy* and it are inseparable. To which an Answer is ready, that Mr. *Milton* is grosely mistaken. It is certain, that *Monarchy* is, where *Bishops* have no place, nor are so much as known, witnesse the *Persian*, *Tartarian*, *Turkish* and *Indian Monarchies*: and *Bishops* on the other hand, have been for many years owned, and acknowledged, and to this day are in place and esteem among those, who are not under *Kings*, witnesse the *Popish Cantons* in *Switzerland*, the *Venetians*, *Genoese*, and *Hamburghers*, which last are a kinde of *Republique*, although they owe and pay Homage to the King of *Denmark*.

By which it is evident, that the *Crown* may return, without readmitting the *Mitre*, and it is likely, that *Episcopal Lordly* power, will hardly get footing again in the Nation, the *Barons* and other *Nobles* in *Parliament*, (who were

were always firm to *Monarchy*) still oppoſing and endeavouring to hit out the *Lords Spirituall*, from having *juriſdiction* among them, as is evident by very many of their *Speeches* to that purpoſe, to this day publiquely extant, yea and his *Majeſty* conſented to the diveſting them of all, but their *Title* and *Office*, ſubmitting their *Lordly Juriſdiction* and *Revenues* to the diſpoſall of the *Parliament*. Concerning whoſe *Office*, and extent of *Power*, it is not now convenient, nor ſeaſonable to argue, and diſpute, nor Wiſdome to determine without Diſputation; only I ſhall adde, that if *Monarchy* and *Epiſcopacy* were neceſſarily inſeparably link'd, it were a ſtrong argument, for the excellency of that ſort of *Church Government*; but the contrary is moſt manifeſt, namely, that what Government *Kings* moſt approve, is by them chiefly countenanced, or at leaſt, what the *cenſure* of moſt *Divines* under their *Juriſdiction* confirms, as moſt agreeable to *Scripture*, that is permitted, and allowed: So the *Preſbytery* prevailed in *Scotland* to the ruine of *Epiſcopacy*, yet *Kingly Government* was not upon that account rejected by them.

Adde to this, that moſt of the *Preſbyters* in the Nation, interceded for the *Kings* life,

proteſted

protested, and *Remonstrianced* against his Death, and the *Scotch* Nation, (the most strict *Presbyters*, reputed) *treated* with, *received*, and *Crowned*, our *Hereditary* now living King *Charles* the *Second*, Son to his murdered Father, and yet readmitted not *Episcopacy*.

This only I shall say, that as a *just splendid Monarchy*, may be limited, so as to consist together with the most absolute, and reall true *Freedome* of a flourishing State, so a *pious* Church overseeing *Episcopacy*, and a *Godly moderate Presbytery* are (*res diversæ, nomine tantum*) only *nominally* differing, but *really* the same: Call the *Bishop* and the *Presbyter* by one name, and let the *wisest*, *gravest*, and most *Exemplary pious*, be reputed the *Moderator* of the rest, and let him be accounted *worthy of double honour*, and have it, and I see no remaining reall ground of animosity, but that both like Christian Brethren, may goe hand in hand together, to oppose the common Enemies of the *Church*, both *Papists* and *Sectarian*.

As for that blessing which you take notice of, (Mr. *Milton*) that the *Plague* hath been for so long a time a stranger to *London*, it is a great mercy, and so to be acknowledged; but I suppose your conclusion from thence, that our *Government* during this time hath been

been more well-pleasing to God, then formerly, without pitifully extorted, and therefore for shame, you do but obscurely bring it in, however it is clearly to be collected from your words, that you *mean* so. Gods usage with his People, is not to be expounded according to that Pattern of yours: His own people the *Jewes* before they were to enjoy the Blessing promised to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, to them, and their *seed* after them, were first brought down into *Egypt*, and there indured sore bondage, before this Promise came to be accomplished. That a great Plague began the Reign of King *James*, and a greater the Reign of his murthered Son *Charles*, in Gods usual way of dealing with his people, (if it were significant) might argue an Elation of spirit in those two *Princes*, in respect to the *numerous forces* of the *Subjects* of the *Kingdome* of *England*, which was lately united to the *Scottish* Diadem, in King *James* the first *Scotch* King that swayed the *English* Scepter. But withall it argued those *Princes* (with *David*) to be persons in *esteem* with God, and therefore to chastise them he took them into his own hand, cutting off many of their Subjects, which went very near to their hearts, as being the *Fathers* of the *Nation*, and so

they were affected with the *Death* of their *Subjects*, as a Parent is with the *Funerals* of his *children*.

But when the Nation waxed wanton againſt God, through ſurfetting on his bleſſings, and rendred him not the thanks that was due to his Name, for ſo happy an *union* of two *Proteſtant* Nations, and increaſe of *Mercy*, in the ſucceſſive Reigns, of three ſcarce before parallel'd *Princes* in our *Nation*, at leaſt, ſo ſucceeding one another, and ſo long continued, the laſt being for *wiſdome*, *piety*, *true valour*, and yet *Chriſtian patience*, not to be matched by any that went before him, to whom (as under God the main prop and hope of our happineſſe) the Lord had graciouſly given a plentifull, and moſt promiſing *Off-ſpring*, we I ſay being not only *brutiſhly ingrateful* for, but *profanely deſpiſing* theſe ſo rare *Mercies*, it pleaſed God to deprive us of them, ſuffering this our *Joſiah* to be (not *ſlain* by *Pharaoh necho*, but) *murdered* by his *own Subjects*, and as much as in them lay, *branch* and *root* to be cut off in one day, blowing in his *anger* at once both in *Church* and *State*, taking away the *antient* and *honourable* in both, and ſuffering the *Bramble*, not only to *King* it over the *Trees*, but a *fire* alſo to proceed out of it, to the conſumpti-

conſumption of almoſt all the ſtately *Cedars* in our *Lebanon*: So that inſtead of a *wiſe, prudent King*, for many Generations *Royally* deſcended, we had ſometimes a *Link-boy*, a *Cobler*, and a *broken Citizen*, a *Plow-man*, with ſome *Apoſtate Lawyers*, and two or three *anthrifty Sollicitors*, with a few *twenty pound a yeer Yeomen*, domineering over us with *rigor*, and ſwelling the *leaſt joynt* of their *fingers*, beyond our *murthered Kings loyns*, yet all pretending *Reformation*; otherwhiles the *Fagge-end* of the *Houſe* of *Commons* (diſſolved actually by the *Kings* death) inſulting over their *Fellow-brethren*, and the *Lords*, and inſlaving the whole *Nation*, by uſurping *Supreme Authority*, and ſqueezing all ſorts of people beyond any *preſident*, to ſatisfie their *exorbitant luſt* and *covetouſneſſe*. For ſome years we endured an *aſpiring Tyrant*, oppreſſing, grinding and afflicting the *poor*: Now and then we had the *Army Officers* Lords *paramount*, but all *oppreſſing* the people both in *City* and *Country*, and writing their *Diktates* in *bloudy Chatollets*. Could any *plague* be worſe then theſe *miſeries*? and *ſlaviſh*, being toſſed from one Condition to another? changing not only our *Governours*, but alſo the *Government* as oft as a *Harlot* changeth her *Paramours*: Our *Fanatique Rulers* ſetting

up, and again pulling down *Governments* as oft as they saw *new light*, leaving us to the sad choyce of either *dancing* to their *fantastical pipe*, or else being *destroyed*, agreeing in nothing but in keeping out the *true Heir*, and his *faithfull Friends*, under the notion of the *Common Enemy*.

This God brought upon us for our great *sins*, one while giving up the whole *Nation*, the *Lords* and *majority* of the *Commons*, to the *odious servitude* of a *perjur'd Rump*, under whom, besides *monstrous Taxes*, (which they extorted to maintain their *Janisaries* the *Apostate Souldiers*, by whose *mutiny* and *rebellion*, they were first *constituted*, and by their *assistance* kept up (in *name* and *notion*) as the *Supreme Authority* of *England*) men had not liberty to avoyd *perjury*, but at the utmost peril of *ruine* to themselves and Family; *Ministers* especially, and all who were to be admitted to places of *trust*; nor could they stand to their *Oaths* and *Covenants* vigorously, and act what they *covenanted* solemnly to act and perform, but they were declared *Enemies* to the *Common-wealth*, for continuing *constant* and *true* to their *Vowes*, and were *rewarded* with *loss of Life*, and *Confiscation* of *Estate*.

God

God at length gives a check to this *Tyde* of *Authority*, by the chief *Inſtrument* of their own *Treachery*, and *Villany*, and ſells them, and the *Nation*, to the greateſt *Monſter* of *curſed hypocriſie*, and *damnable rebellion*, that ever yet *Nature* brought forth: Who with *reproach* turns them out of dores, giving them a *ſcriom*, but *true* Reproof, calling them (as they were) a pack of *Whoremaſters*, *Drunkards*, and baſe ſelf-ſeeking *Wretches*, and having thrown them aſide with deſerved *ſcorn* and *contempt*, ſeats himſelf in the *Supremacy*, calls and daſheth to pieces at his pleaſure, ſeveral ridiculous *Juntoes* or *Mock-Parliaments*, makes Warre with *Spain*, to almoſt the *ruine* of our *Trade*, and Peace with *France* and *Holland*, &c. only to eject our *Hereditary exiled*, *diſtreſſed King* from all *Proteſtant ſupplies*, ſends away thouſands of the *Engliſh* to *Hiſpaniola*, *Jamaica*, and *Flanders*, which proved a *grave* to the *Men*, and a *waſter* of ſome Millions of *Treaſure*; Orders *Nineteen hundred thouſand pounds* to be ſetled on him (as an *Annual Revenue*) which he took by the *Sword*, and would have had confirmed to him and his *Succeſſors*, by a *Law* of his own making and impoſing: Thoſe who oppoſed him felt his *fury*, and as many as diſguſted his *proceedings*, he had *Court-plots* to

insnare them with, *Witnesses* at hand, who would not fail to accuse, and *Mercenary Judges*, *Attorneys Generall*, and *Sollicitors* to impeach, aggravate their *crimes* and *condemn* them; and (for failer here) he had at his beck a *Monstrous High-Court* of *Justice*, who like desperate *Hounds* would *flie* at, and *fasten* upon any that he *pointed* out to the *slaughter*, who were *hanged*, *beheaded*, *drawn*, *quartered*, their *bowels* burnt, and what not *cruelties* done to them, at the *Tyrants* pleasure? Others suffered close and *tedious imprisonment*, till (with *Nebuchadnezzar*) their Hair became like Eagles Feathers, and their Nails like Talons or Clawes, in comparison of what they were before; such was the *monstrous villany* of this *Tyrant*, and *Usurper*, and such *cursed Instruments* had he in readiness to execute what he should command. Those who know not this, are very strangers in our *Israel*: Lord! what Plague could equal the *misery* we suffered under this *Monster*?

At length God puts an end to his *rage*, *Death* arresting him with *fury*, *madness* and *despair*: And his Son after him proclaimed, proved *moderate*, but was too *good* to hold, God not yet seeing it meet to put an end to our *plagues* and *miseries*: He through Gods *judgement*, lost that *Usurped Government* like an

Asse,

Aſſe, which his Father got like a *Fox*, and mannaged like a *Lyon* or *Wolf*.

And now again, by the *Swords* determination, the *Rump* was a ſecond time *Rampant*, and begin to act at firſt like themſelves, that is, *Monſters of perjury* and *villany*. The *Gentry* of *Cheſhire* are proclaimed *Traytors*, for declaring for a *Free Parliament*, and the ruine of all their *Eſtates*, and ſome of their *Lives* is agreed on, for attempting it: *Praiſegod* is made chief *Sequeſtrator*, with a *Commiſſion* to pick the very *fleſh* of all who ſhould dare to ſtand up for a *Free Parliament*, to the *Barebones*. Yet God in mercy to the poor *Nation*, hearing the grones of the *oppreſſed*, did reſpite this Calamity, and once more brought to ground the pride of the *Rumpers*, turning them again out of dores by the ſame Inſtrument whereby it pleaſed him to defeat the Endeavours of divers of the *Gentry*, who laboured after, and Declared for a *Free Parliament*, and then the *Army Officers* fall to tampering with the *Government*, and rule and domineer with as much *inſolency* as *impurity*. And leſt this *Scene* ſhould want its *ſolemnity*, the project of the *Army Officers*, (the *Committee* of *Safety*) order *Hewſon* and others to march into the *City*, where they triumph in the *innocent*

blood of *unarmed Apprentices*, whose only Crime was, that they resenting their sad *misery* occasioned, partly by so many *Changes*, and *wofull distractions*, but especially by the *decay*, yea almost *total want* of all *Trade*, by which thousands were undone, and reduced to *beggery*, formed, and assayed to deliver a *Petition*, to the *Lord Maior*, *Court* of *Aldermen*, and *Common Council*, to incite them (if possible) to endeavour the removall of the *cause* of these their *pressures* and *burdens*, greater then which were expected daily, the *insolent Souldier* threatning the *City*, and Alarming it from time to time with menaces of *fire* and *plunder*. These *Sword-men*, like *Jehu*, drove the Chariot of their imagined *Utopian Common wealth* with such fury, and (wanting *Money* withall) ran upon so many *Rocks* and *Sands*, that with muchbaseneſſe and sordidneſſe they were baffled, and the *Rump* re-enters upon the *Stage*, with as much scorn, contempt and disgrace, as *Ballad-makers*, and idle *Pamphleters* could deviſe, but these things they minded not; *Money* they wanted, and were resolved to have it, *Quo jure, quâve injuriâ*, they made no matter; and having outwitted and baffled *Lambert*, *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, and the rest of the too petulant *Army Grandees*,

Grandees, thought it now eaſie for them to bear all down before them with *violence*, and on this perſwaſion, begun to be rough and reſolute with the *City*: The Citizens on the other hand, now at laſt wearied to the very ſoul, with the conſtant Oppreſſions, Rapines, Exactions, and cruelties of this abominable *Fagge-end* of Authority, and finding the Purſes and deſires of their Maſters to be bottomleſſe, never filled nor ſatisfied, although themſelves were almoſt quite exhauſted and ruined, and perceiving that their *villanies* would alwayes create new *troubles*, and the fears of them would call for new expenſes daily, Heroickly reſolved, to ſee a *legal Authority* in being, before they would contribute any more Moneys at the demand of any Uſurped pretended *Power* under Heaven. To *curb* theſe, and *reduce* them (as they called it) to obedience, Generall *Monke* was imployed in *odious*, *dirty*, *hatefull ſervices*, and unheard of *villany* was plotted againſt as many in the City as loved *loyalty*, whoſe *bl ud*, and *plunder*, (if not the *flame* of the City) was reſolved upon, to be offered as a *ſacrifice* to ſome *Infernal Furies* that ſate in the *Rump*. However, the *Poſts* and *Chains* of *London* were demoliſhed, ſeveral *Aldermen* and *Common councill men* were impri-

impriſoned, and to make a compleat *Tragedy*, the moſt active *Aldermen* were (as report gave it out credibly) appointed to be *hanged* one at each *Gate* of the City. Yea to fill up the meaſure of their *impiety* to amazement, as well as deteſtation, *Prayſegod Barebone*, a *Fanatique* leading Zealot, appears with a curſed *Petition*, to *abjure*, not only our *Martyr'd Kings* whole *Royal Poſterity*, but the whole Family of *King JAMES*, and to have the motion for, or defenſe of *Regal Government*, made a *Capital Crime*, and that *irrevocably*, according to the Law of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, not repealable by any future *Parliaments*, but the propounding ſuch a thing (though in *Parliament*) to be adjudged *Treaſon*, and the Offendor to ſuffer loſſe of *life* and forfeiture of *Eſtate*, as in caſe of *high Treaſon*, for the ſame. For which *pious Petition*, in which this muſt not be omitted, that he would have no *Miniſter* preach, nor *Schoolmaſter* teach Scholars, and in a word, none to be admitted to any place of *profit* or *truſt*, either *civil* or *military*, but ſuch only who could diſpenſe with his conſcience ſo far, as to take that *Oath* of *Abjuration*, and actually did the ſame; for this (I ſay) he had, by the Order of the *Houſe*, the *Speakers* hearty thanks, while two Noble ſpirited

ſpirited *Gentlemen*, *Members* Elected of the ſame *Parliament*, but by force *ſecluded*, (the force of the *Rebellious Army*, as the ſelf-condemning *Rumpers* long time pretended) and ſtill by force kept out, for a ſober Petition to their *Imperious Fellow-members*, for re-admiſſion, delivered in behalf of themſelves, and the reſt who lay under that forcible reſtraint, from diſcharging the *truſt* committed to them by the *people*, at the time of their Election, were committed Priſoners to the *Tower*. Then at laſt God ſaw it good to hear and anſwer the multitude of Prayers put up to him by the oppreſſed languiſhing Nation in generall, and his faithfull Servants in particular, and reſtrained the reſidue of the *Rumps* fury, having glorified his Name wonderfully by ſo much of it as he did permit, by which the Nation in generall, and the guilty in particular, ſaw their ſin at firſt committed againſt their *Liege* and gracious *Soveraign*, in the Looking glaſſe of its deſerved and long continued puniſhment: Which was, and hath been by farre ſo much the more grievous *plague*, then the *peſtilence* it ſelf, wherewith formerly (to correct our leſſe horrible ſins) God in *juſtice* (mixed with *mercy*) ſometimes viſited us, as it was more afflictive to fall into the hands of

mercileſſe

mercileſſe men, then into the hands of a gracious God, and therefore the latter was choſen by *David* rather then either the former or *Famine*: Yet the *peſtilence* is a ſharp ſcourge, but far to be choſen before being ſold to, and oppreſſed by a *Forein Enemy*, although this laſt be leſſe grievous then to be ſubjected, and inſlaved, domineered over, and kept under by the viler and baſer ſort of our own choſen *Repreſentatives*, who were elected and intruſted to ſtand for our *liberties*, and with their Lives and Fortunes to *maintain* them, which yet they perfidiouſly and perjuriouſly *betrayed*, and joyned with the moſt unconſcionable, rebellious part of the *Army*, to wit the *mercenary Soldiers*, who being raiſed, impowered, and payed, to defend the *Liberties* of thoſe who made uſe of them, contrariwiſe imployed their own Moneys, and the Weapons with which they were armed, to inſlave and ſubject thoſe who thus armed and payd them, and as much as in them lay, to perpetuate this bondage and ſlavery (to poſterity) unto a few ſordid degenerate *Gentlemen*, and *Peaſants*, after all that were *Noble* and *Honourable* were thrown away, and layd aſide. This was our long continued Plague, often varying its ſymptoms, but ſtill appearing worſe and worſe

worſe, till at laſt *mortal tokens* (as I may call them) began to be viſible: Then all were inſtructed (each man in his place) with Gods high hand, that the miſt raiſed by *factious*, *ſeditious ſpirits*, at the beginning of the War, made his gracious *Majeſty* to appear to his cordially *loyall* ſubjects, not as he really was, but his actions were ſcandalized, and his intentions miſconſtrued by ſuch *Boutefeus* of *State* who deſired only to kindle an unquenchable fire, as well in the *ſpiritual* as in the *temporal Government*, which God to puniſh our ſins, permitting them, they villanouſly brought to paſſe. Boaſt no more, I pray you, Sir, how *free* this City hath been ſince theſe overturning times, from the *Peſtilence*, which in probability might have roofted the *Rumpers* out of their neſt, in which they ſate ſo long hatching *miſchief* and *perfidious villany*; and ſo inſtead of a *plague*, might have proved a *bleſſing* to this unhappy Nation: but themſelves, and ſuch who took occaſion to *Uſurp*, by their complyance and breach of Faith, and truſt with the *Nation*, being indeed tenfold the more *curſed plague*, and God (for our ſins judging it fit to continue this worſt of miſeries, (next to utter *deſolation*) for a long ſeaſon, upon this ſinfull rebellious Nation, whom no Oaths (formerly taken) could keep firm to our Loyalty, but even

the

the *Pulpits* (the places of Divine Meſſages) ſounded of nothing but *arms*, *bloud*, and *confuſion*) kept off the *contagious Peſtilence*, and continued (with various changes between whiles) our bondage to *Uſurpers* as well as *Rebells*, for a long time, nigh Twelve years, by this judgement of his to convince us each in our place) of our ſins in generall, and in particular, our ſin of ingratitude to God, for ſo many and ſo pious *Princes*, ſucceeding each other, the laſt exceeding the former, their *Reigns* ſo long continued, in which we enjoyed the *Goſpel* of *peace*, with peace and plenty, and in this Royall Stocks multiplyed Branches, we had almoſt confidence of the continuance of our happineſſe, to which ſin of *ingratitude*, we added the ſpirit of *rebellion* and *perfidiouſneſſe*, and both they brought forth *perjury*, but ſtill (in the act of *villany*, to keep the ſhew of *piety*) all the reſt of our ſins ſhrouded themſelves under the cloak of *hypocriſie*, Faſting (many of us) *Monthly*, that with greater ſecurity, by this ſhew of *holyneſſe*, we might *ſmite with the fiſt of wickedneſſe*.

I ſpeak not this of all the Nation, God forbid, as little of all the *Parliament*, among whom, I verily believe, that *ſix* in *ſeaven* (yea more) were either cordially *innocent*, or barely ſeduced by the *peſtilent*, *pernicious*

wit,

wit, and *damnable diligence* of a very few *Incendiaries* at firſt, whoſe poyſon ſpread as a *Canker*, to the inſnaring of many to act and uphold that in ignorant pious *zeal*, which had they been nakedly uncaſed and diſcovered, they would have *abhorred*. But the *monſtrous impiety* of the *Rump*, hath (bleſſed be God) undeceived and opened the eyes of moſt, if not all that were inconſiderately ſeduced in theſe three Nations, ſome of the *grand Villains* only excepted, to wit, the eminent men who ſwayed the *Rump*, who were indeed the true *Incendiaries*, and deteſtable *Cauſers* of our ſo long continued, ſad calamities. Concerning whoſe perſons, and pardon, I ſhall adviſe nothing, it being preſumption in me to think ſuch a thought, only my opinion is, that they are of the number of thoſe *wicked*, to whom if favour be ſhewed in a *Land of Uprightneſſe*, yet they will not take notice of the *Majeſty* of God: Let them be reſpited from deſerved death, with *Shimei*, and pardoned to their own content, yet they will (through the juſt judgment of God) deſerve, and come to a juſtly merited reward of their former *Treaſons*, by ſome after committed *villany*. Now Sir, as to the name of *Rump*, which by-word, (as you term it) you miſlike, give me leave

to

to give a reason of my use of it: How first it was given to them, I shall not here inquire, though perhaps I might satisfie the Reader in that, but as for the reason of that denomination, I think if weighed well, it will be found too good a *name* for their *bad deserts*, if the name of a *Rump* or *Rumper* may owe its *Originall* to, and derive its *signification* from (*rumps*) that so the title *Rumpers* may be deduced *a rumpendo*, no *notation* can better agree to their *nature*, and what they have done. How have they broke their *Vowes*, *Oaths* and *Covenants* with God? their *Engagements* and *promises* to *men*? the *Priviledges* of *PARLIAMENT*? The lawes of the Land? the hedge of all Government both *Civill* and *Religious*? their words at all times, with their friends? *Articles* with their *Enemies*; peace with their *Christian Protestant Neighbours*? The Seals of both their lawfull *King* and usurping *Protector*, the staffe of beauty, and the staffe of bands, by which the *Nation* formerly flourished, and were united together? The bond of *Love*, both in reference to *God* and *men*? The hopes of good men concerning them? The endeavours of pious Christians and true loyall *Members* of these three *Nations*, for the healing our *breaches*? How did they by wicked

prævarication

Prevarication break off all *Treatyes* that were made between the *King* and *Parliament*, toward the ſetling of a ſure and well grounded *Peace*? How did they impiouſly break their bounds, and ingroſſed into themſelves by uſurpation all the Power over theſe three *Nations*? In a word what have they not broke that is either *honourable* or *ſacred*, which ought to have been kept inviolably? They have broken their faith, yea broken and trod down all tyes of *Conſcience*, boundaries of Law, *Parliament* and *King*, *Nobles* and *Commons*, their own credit and other mens, the eſtates of ſeverall both Noble and Gentile, yea that of the *Widows* and *Fatherleſs*, The trade of the *Nation*, and its repute both at home and abroad, the Gates of the *City*, their *Polls* and *Chaines*, in a word, all hopes (in a manner) of ever recovering out of this Condition, they had certainly broken, had not God raiſed up one, and endowed him with a gallant heroick ſpirit, who to be even with theſe *Rampers*, hath happily broken their *hornes*, and abated their *Power*, broken their net and let out the *Captive*, broken their Yoak and freed the *oppreſſed*, and the rod of *Pride*, and delivered the poor *Nation*, that lay at the feet of their mercyleſs ambition, broken

their plot, and defeated (I hope) for ever their counſell, who otherwiſe, had in ſhort time broken the hearts of all that were not gifted with a baſe ſlaviſh ſpirit, to ſubmit to their lawleſſe *wils*, and *curſed Luſt*, and ſcorned to truckle under their *highflown matchleſs Tyranny*. Here are *Rumpers* with a *witneſs*, nay rather with a *vengeance*; Though I conceive, he who firſt was reported the *Author* of that name, alluded in it to the *Rump* of a *Sheep* or *Lambe*, which is but a ſmall contemptible peice (compared to the whole *Loyne*,) and is uſually at *Innes* of *Court* the *Cooks fee*. So that if good it is of ſmall value, in reſpect of its bulk, but if tainted, is ſcarce good for dogs. At a *Gentlemans* Table it is not of eſteem, and therefore granted to *Cooks* as an inconſiderable part of the *Loyn* which (if left on) addes nothing to the price or value of it, and being cut off, diminiſheth not a whit from the worth thereof. In any of which reſpects, this fagge end of the *Houſe* very well might be called the *Rump*; for eſteem of all the *Commoners* being the moſt contemptible, eſpecially when they are apparently *tainted*, and might be followed by the ſent, of *Perfidiouſneſs*, *Perjury*, *Rebellion*, *Treaſon*, *Oppreſſion*, *Murther*, *Sacrilege*, and what not that is odious either

either to be named or heard? I think not of their perſonall vices, but deſire to be underſtood only concerning their *Villanies committed* as a body politick. Their number alſo was ſo inconſiderable, that being joyned to the other members they added but little of eſteeme or repute to them; the number being ſufficient to make a conſiderable *Houſe* without them, but of them ſo ſmall, that they ſeldome exceeded much, never doubled the *quorum* of a *Houſe of Commons* and therefore they were compelled to make bold with the *Law*, and ſetch their fellows out of ſeverall *Gaoles*, leſt the indiſpoſition of ſome of the reſt, might make their *Houſe* thinner then by the *Law* thereof its conſtitution would bear: Some they adopted into their *number*, right or wrong, as five or ſix *Eſquires*, others they pluckt in by head and ſhoulders, as for inſtance, two or three *Earls*, who among them ſeemed *Mungril Neuters* between *Peers* and *Commoners*. Thus the *Engliſh Houſe* of *Rumpers* may hereafter goe joyned to the three places which according to the Proverb, refuſe no body, *Hell*, the *Grave* and *Sea*. They may alſo very well be termed the *Snuffe* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, the State of *England* during the *Commotions* being properly compared to a *Taper*, which being

melted by the fire of *Warre*, and wasting it self with its own light, which was blown aside by the blasts of *Rebellion*, ran down much of its *waxe* into the *Socket*, and declined apace. This *snuffe* at last preying upon what was run down by the heat of *Warre*, and the winde of *Rebellion*, blazed a long time, till all that fed it was consumed, and then went out in a most insufferable *stink*. But I shall leave them to their own *melancholy thoughts*, which perhaps may now *check* them, and as *Josephs* brethren, after almost *twenty* years security in that great sin, which (for ought they knew) they were guilty of, to wit, their *brothers bloud*, when they were reduced to a great extremity, began to accuse themselves one to another, *We are verily guilty of the bloud of our Brother*: So these *Regicides*, I hope in this their extremity, may be alarmed by their *consciences*, with such like thoughts, *We are questionlesse guilty of the bloud of our* KING, *when our own hearts told us that his person was sacred, and we our selves were guilty of what we charged upon him, but he was innocent. and therefore now his bloud is required.* This is the worst I wish them, if it were Gods will, but their *black fact* I would have abhorred and detested for ever, and damned to the pit of *hell*, where first it was hatched.

The

The laſt *Engine* by which Mr. *Milton* endeavours to hinder our much expected *ſettlement* is, to perſwade the people that our preſent *hereditary King* hath been from his Cradle trained up in *Popiſh Principles*, having lived ſo long, and received his *ſubſiſtance* among, and from them, this if it were true, is a bad argument to keep him from his *Crown*, if it be, as certainly it is, his *hereditary* right and due. It was the unanimous reſolve of the true *Proteſtant Chriſtians*, in Queen *Maries* dayes, that notwithſtanding the deſire of pious King *Edward* to the contrary, ſhe, and not the Lady *Jane*, ſhould be Crowned *Queen*, although ſhe was known to be a *reſolved Papiſt*, and of a moſt *furious* ſpirit, in requital of whom, ſhe ſent many of them to Heaven in *Triumphant fiery Chariots*. Now were it to be admitted, that our *King* were of the *Romiſh Religion*, yet his ſweet inclination and diſpoſition might take all ſuſpition of danger from him. Had he been educated with the greateſt indulgence and care that were poſſible, in the true *Orthodox Religion*, and yet been ſeduced accidentally by the fraud and policy of ſome *Romiſh Agents*, it had yet been our duty to have *prayed* for him (as became true *Chriſtians*) but withall, to have ſubmitted to him. for

Gods sake, as became the true Children and Successors of those *Primitive Apostolike Saints*, who did the like to *Heathen Emperors* and *Governors*. But when God knowes, this Nation hath by *unparallel'd Rebellion* and *Treason*, cut off the *Father*, with that *impium solemnity* as was never yet done by the worst of *Pagans*, and neglected the *Children* with as much *inhumanity* as *unrighteousnesse*, dividing (as a spoyl) among themselves the ample Revenues belonging to *Majesty*, and neither allowing the *posterity* any subsistance themselves, nor permitting any other to do it; but upon penalty of *high Treason* forbidding all relief to the *Royal Orphans* and *Widow*; when (I say) the *Nation* hath done this, (pardon me that I say the *Nation*, for I must lay the blame on the *Nation*, till the *Nation* hath wiped off the *blot*) if the *King* in consideration of these monstrous *impieties*, perpetrated against his *Father*, and continued against himself, had imputed the fault of the *Professors* to the *profession* it self, and imbraced *Popery* rather then refined *KING killing*, *Soveraign-despising Protestantisme*, it had been our duty to have been humbled for what was past, and by a more *exact Obedience* to have testified our *detestation* of such *principles*, in order to the convincing his judgement,

judgement, but to have rejected him on this ſcore, had, (I confidently perſwade my ſelf) been adding *impenitency* unto *ſinne*, which is the greateſt aggravation thereof: For, without doubt, the whole Nation cannot waſh their hands from the guilt of our great ſins committed againſt Gods *Vicegerent*, our undoubted *Head* and *Soveraign Lord*, and his *Royall Iſſue*, for fear of *man* at leaſt, or cowardly declining their *endanger'd King*, and his *Royall line* was their fault; While *Vowes*, *Covenants*, *Oathes* and *Proteſtations* were made for his preſervation and happineſſe, it is no great wonder that fair words and promiſes inſnared the *ſimple*, ſince I perſwade my ſelf, that thoſe who made ſuch promiſes were themſelves beguiled by the ſubtilty of the ringleading *Rumpers*, and the Rebellious *Souldiery*, but when *Oathes* were palpably broken, and *Majeſty* not only contemned and in hazard, but upon the very point of ruine, had all who were cordially *loyall*, then appeared againſt ſuch monſtrous *impiety* and *villany*, had they been not only *unarmed* and *naked*, but even *ſick* and *wounded* men, they had undoubtedly given a check to the *Rumpers* rage, and malicious, barbarous, bloudy *impiety*. In which reſpect our *Humiliation* ought to be

National and *serious*, since not only *Dogs*, *Sorcerers*, and such like, but the *fearfull* and *unbelieving*, shall be shut out of the *heavenly Jerusalem*: Yea, and when *Christ* was crucified, it was not the whole *Nation* that did it, but the *High-priest*, and *Scribes*, and some *zealous Pharisees*, nor the *majority* of the people that consented to it, for they who plotted his death, durst not put their designs in execution on the *Feast-day* least there should be an Uproar among the people, who most of them accounted *Christ* as a *good holy man*, and a *great Prophet*: Yet none appearing on his side when it was put in execution, that was long before *plotted*, his *bloud* lay upon the whole *Nation*, and dismal *calamities* many years after came upon all, for the *actual sin* of some. So in likenesse of our *Saviours* sufferings, behold a *pious Protestant King*, not carefull of his own *life*, that by his *bloud* he might *seal* his *peoples Liberties*, and the *priviledges* of *Parliament*, behold him I say, *arraign'd*, with scorn, reproach and contempt, *condemned* with impudence and the height of indignity, and *executed* with the full measure of malice, tyranny and cruelty; yea and after his death, the *Injuries* done to the *Father* as it were *stay'd* upon the *Son*, and extended to the whole

Royall

Royall Iſſue, and *Relations*. Behold, a young *Prince*, no ſooner by *villanous violence* made a *lawfull KING*, but perſecuted to the *death*, *Warre* being made with all who gave him *entertainment*, nor *peace* concluded with any, but upon condition of his being *proſcribed*, and *ejected* out of all their *Dominions*, and *Juriſdiction*, his *naturall Subjects* prohibited, (but upon condition of *utter ruine*) to *own* or *relieve* him, and yet ſee the *mercy* and *goodneſſe* to this poor Nation in this our *King*, his *conſtancy* in the true *Proteſtant Religion*, and his undaunted profeſſion of the ſame in the midſt of, and in deſpite of all theſe Injuries offered him from *Proteſtant Subjects*, hath been the *joy* of all his Friends, the *admiration* of Strangers, the *envy* of Enemies, and is *miraculum* in *Europe*, to the ſilencing of *Momus* himſelf, ſo that his *known practiſe* can give the lye to the words or pen of any *barking black-mouthed* Adverſary whatſoever. This is the Lords doing, to his Name be *glory* for ever. If then it had been our undoubted *duty*, to have received him *joyfully*, and ſubmitted to him *chearfully*, and *conſcientiouſly*, for the Lords ſake, though he had been a *Ruſſi*, how much more ought we to do it, as the caſe ſtands, and how ought every true *Chriſtian* to long for his *return*, and not give

God

God reſt, day nor night, but be inſtant in *fervent prayer* till his Reſtitution be accompliſhed: For whatever may be pretended as to *ſettlement* by a *Common-wealth*, there is no way of *firm ſettlement* but by returning to our *former Allegiance*. We came not to that paſſe we were lately in, but by the means of *treaſon*, *rebellion*, *perjury*, *murder*, *oppreſſion*, and *ſacriledge*, for which God certainly will viſit: Could we imagine there were no *God*, as fooliſh *Atheiſts* imagine, or that God were like to us, an Abettor of ſuch *Villanies* as we act and approve, it would yet be very improbable, that a (fooliſhly intended) *Common-wealth* ſhould ever be ſetled, foraſmuch as the Intereſt of the Nation is ingaged to *Monarchy*, it is a *Government* we were trained up in, and accuſtomed thereto, and our *Kings* not *Forraigners* to us, but our own *Countrey-men*, who were themſelves by *bloud* allyed to many (if not moſt) of the *Nobles*, and they to the *Gentry*, they alſo to the *Yeomen*, and *Countrey-Farmers*, that *Intereſts* were woven together ſo firmly, and the knots knit between all ſo indiſſolvably, that the ſame cannot be undone, without the certain inevitable ruine of all. And if Intereſts which have ſprung up ſince the *Warre* (whoſe foundation is *illegality*, *enmity*, and

and *Villanous impiety*) be in ten or twelve years become ſo conſiderable, that for *peace* ſake, the *formalities* of *Law* and *nicetie*s of *Juſtice* muſt be diſpenſed withall, and the rule (*regim vivendi*) ſince it is become *Epidemicall*, muſt be connived at as to the time paſt, or elſe palpable and apparent danger might be of *new Combuſtions*; is it to be imagined that ſo *long continued*, and ſo *interwoven Intereſts*, can be thrown aſide like an *Almanack* out of date, and all remain quiet? We ſee that thoſe who never were poſſeſs'd of, nor quietly injoyed the *Government*, but only reacht after, and aſpired to it, can ſcarſe be ſatisfied without injoying what they thus gap'd for, but will rather endeavour to ſet all on fire, then go without it, and is it likely, that ſuch, who were *legally* and quietly poſſeſt therewith, owned by all, and *Allegiance* ſworn to them by all, (as the *Kings* Poſterity was included in the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, and *Supremacy*, and all his *legal Succeſſors*, in defect of *Iſſue*) the *Nobles* alſo (who are numerous) whoſe *Franchiſe* and *Prerogative* it was ſo farre to participate in *Government*, as to be the *Peers* of the *Nation*, and to make one *Houſe* of *Engliſh Parliaments*, The *Gentry* alſo who were firm to their *Sovereign*, whoſe *Birthright* it is to chooſe and be

choſen

choſen *Commoners*: Can all theſe be blown away with a *puffe*, and *breaches* be ſodered up notwithſtanding? 'twere a madneſſe to imagine it. Certainly, if to adhere to a *King*, who had piouſly and happily *Governed* nigh *twenty* years, deſcended of *Anceſtors* of *happy memory*, who with himſelf had almoſt compleated a *Century* of years in moſt happy *tranquility*, were deſerving *ſequeſtration*, *impriſonment*, (and *death* as ſome ſuffered) beſides a loſſe of *priviledges*, and *Franchiſes* to themſelves, yet muſt their *innocent Babes* be cut off likewiſe with the *Parents*? and can *peaceable ſubmiſſion* nevertheleſs be expected? Certainly no, *Religion* and *reaſon* both forbid it, no marvel then, if now at length toward the *Morning Watch*, (the *Day-ſtar* of our *deliverance* appearing) the *Righteous God* hath looked down through the Cloud of *confuſion* and *diſorder*, and hath troubled the Hoſt of our *Egyptian Task-maſters*, taking off the *Chariot-wheels* ſo that they drive heavily, and troubling their *Counſels* in ſuch ſort, that I hope they will never be *prevalent* more, but if they continue *obſtinately impenitent*, will bring back upon them the Waters of *trouble*, *deſpair*, *agony*, and *final deſtruction*, that ſo when theſe *Egyptians* are overwhelmed in thoſe Floods, by which they intended to

ſwallow

ſwallow up the Innocent, we may with joyfull hearts ſing Praiſes to him our *Deliverer*, in the Church, and pay our *Vowes* in the Aſſembly of the *Great Congregation*: and I preſume with confidence, that if it ſhall pleaſe the Lord once more to return in mercy to this poor Nation, to lay our Foundations firmly anew, to heal our *breaches*, and to reſtore unto us our *Judges* as at the firſt, and our *Counſellors* as at the beginning, we ſhall then be wary hereafter how we ſlight Gods Bleſſings, and loath *Manna*, leſt if we again relapſe into the ſame or the like ſinne, a worſe Judgement overtake us. As for our *King's* being maintained during his *Exile*, it hath been almoſt a *Prodigy* in *Providence*; of his own he might ſay as *David* to *Saul*, *They baniſhed him from the preſence of the Lord*, ſaying in effect, *Goe ſerve other Gods*; and if *David* the *Choſen* of the Lord, and a man after his heart, when baniſhed *Iſrael*, fled to *Achiſh* King of *Gath* (a *Philiſtine*) who ſhewed him kindneſſe, and *treated* him with *courteſie*, who can condemn our *Exiled Prince* far from Friends and Relief, hunted from *England* into the *Low Countreys*, and *France*, from thence recalled to *Scotland*, and as ſoon purſued by that implacable *Blood-hound*, (who had not quenched his thirſt

thirſt with his Royall Fathers blood,) and by him perſecuted, and driven into *England*, thence forced again to flye to the *Low-Countreys* and *France*, where he had the *relief* and *converſe* of *Proteſtants*; but even this was envyed him by our late *infamous Uſurper*, who partly by *force*, partly by *policy*, ejected him out of both thoſe *Juriſdictions*, yet when deſtitute of Friends and ſuccour, God put it into the *Tyrants* minde to quarrell with *Spain*, our moſt profitable *Ally*, and that *Prince* relieves our diſtreſſed *Royall Orphans*. Here was Gods *goodneſſe*, triumphing over mans *baſeneſſe*, his *mercy* over their *cruelty*, to him be the *glory*, but in greater mercy he hath kept our *King* and *Royall Iſſue*, from being *tainted* in their *Religion*, which is a favour for which *Immortall praiſe* is due to his *Name*.

And thus Mr. *Milton* I have run through your *Diſcourſe*, and in anſwering it I have obviated whatever is *material*, in what you wrote againſt *Salmaſius*, either derogating from *Kingly Government*, or juſtifying that *Execrable murder* of our *lawfull*, and once *happy* yet (for ever *glorious*) *martyr'd King* CHARLES; and in proſecuting my own Aſſertion in oppoſition to yours, I have (I conceive) anticipated any *materiel* Objection,

jection, that might be made for *future* in behalf of one, or againſt the other. I ſhall now conclude with you, wiſhing you heartily *true repentance*, and a *ſound minde*. Raving againſt *Majeſty*, when inſulted over (by the permiſſion of God) and caſting *ſcurrilities* in the face of *Gods Anoynted*, is the mark of a *Shimei*, (let his *profeſſion* of *Religion* be what it will) and if God ever come to awaken your *Conſcience* in *mercy* or in *judgement*, you will finde ſuch a like reproof in your breaſt, as curſing *Shimei* had from *Solomon*, *Thou knoweſt all the wickedneſſe that is in thy heart, and which it is privy to*, &c.) out of the abundance of which you belched forth your *filthy Expreſſions* againſt him, of whom thoſe who are *truly pious* (*fearing God and the King*) give a different Character. But I hope all who are indeed *wiſe*, will be enabled to judge of *perſons* and *things*. You ſay, what you write is the Language of the *Good Old Cauſe*: I am ſure what I write is the Language, and according to the ſenſe of *Good Old True Chriſtians*, and of the *Scripture*. What you wrote, you wrote no more (you ſay) then if you had written to *Hacke* or *Hanet*: And what I reply to you or to the Ring-leading *Rumpers*, I am confident I write to ſuch, (that is) *ſcared Conſciences*, and *filthy breaſts*, but

but as you hope your writings out of thoſe *ſtones* may raiſe up ſome *Children* unto *Liberty*, ſo I hope theſe my Writings may meet with ſome, who, in ſimplicity are following *Abſalom* in *Hebron*, being by *deluſions* won to deſert their *lawfull* KING in *Jeruſalem*; I mean, following an *Uſurping Aſpirer*, in contempt of *true Authority*, and the *true Church*, deſerting their *True* KING, and rejecting the *true* means of Grace, to be only found in *Zion*.

But thoſe who are *True* and *Cordial Subjects* and *Sons*, to their *King*, and of the *Orthodox Proteſtant Church*, know, that *David* whom *Shimei* reviled, was a man after *Gods own heart*, and one whom the Lord choſe to make an *Everlaſting Covenant* with, ſo different is the eſteem of *good* men being made by divers ſorts of perſons: As an *Eye* that is diſtempered and bloud-ſhot, dazles at the *Sunne*, or any *clear Light*, ſeeing by it nothing but bloud, terror, and amazement, nor can abide to behold it, but looking down on the *green Earth*, is more contented, and pleaſed: So guilty *minds*, or *reſtleſſe ſpirits*, cannot endure the luſtre of *Majeſty*, but go poring upon, and admiring that which is more *ſordid* and neerer the *Earth*, as ſuting beſt to their

capacity.

capacity. To both which the Poet thus alludes, and ſhewes the fate of each:

——*Sapiens dominabitur aſtris,*
Vir Terræ (*pronus ſenſibus*) *is ſubcrit.*

But I hope theſe (*terræ filii*) will be no longer *Remora's* to our long wiſhed for, and expected Deliverance, Settlement, and Joy, which that it may come (*certe & citò*) both *ſurely* and *ſpeedily*, is, and hath been, my *prayer*, and I hope every *Cordiall Subject*, and *loyall Breaſt* in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, will ſay, *Amen.*

A.

A PERORATION

To his Excellency the

Lord Generall *MONCK*,

and his OFFICERS;

AND, TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

The Two HOUSES

OF

PARLIAMENT;

Which are ſhortly to meet, and Sit at *WESTMINSTER*.

Moſt Honourable LORD,

HAving in defenſe of *Regall Government*, againſt Mr. *Milton's Ready and Eaſie way to eſtabliſh a Free Common-wealth*, brought

(by Gods good help and assistance) my intended task to an end, it remains, that I now addresse my self to your *Excellency*, in a *paraneticall*, or *congratulatory way*, for what you have (through Gods blessing been instrumental in bringing to passe.

We are all deeply sensible, and thankfully acknowledge, that the *Righteous God* for our many and great sins had corrected us, and brought us into such a *state* and *condition*, as this Nation never before was in, since it first was known to be a *Nation* to this day. He had cut off from us, the *Ancient*, and the *Honourable*, had deprived us of our *happy Governors*, broken our once matchlesse, peaceably setled, and long happily *Government*. Had set *Ephraim* against *Manasse*, *Manasseh* against *Ephraim*, and both against *Judah*, so that the *Syrians* before, and the *Philistims* behinde, did all seem to devoure our *Israel* with open mouth: Yet *for all this his fierce anger was not turned away, but his hand appeared stretched out still against us*. Our *Kingdome* was divided, rent and tottering, one part against the other, the *Son* envying, and betraying the *Father*, and one *Brother* another, so that there was neither *peace* nor *truth* among us.

Our *Church* also was broken almost to pieces,

pieces with *Schiſmes*, *Factions* and *Hereſies*, our *profeſſion* ſcandalized, with *damnable Errors* and *Blaſphemies*, ſo that we had ſcarce the face of a *true Church* left among us. Our *Principles* were tainted and corrupted with the *crying ſins* of *murther*, *ſacriledge*, *cruelty*, *oppreſſion*, *hypocriſie*, *rebellion*, and *perjury*, breach of *faith*, *Vowes*, *Covenant* and *Oaths*, with *hard-heartedneſſe* and *impenitency*; that it was hardly to be diſcerned, if any ſpark of *true Religion*, and *power of Godlineſſe* remained in this (every way *guilty*) *Nation* or no, whoſe hands were deeply imbrued, and (beyond waſhing) ſtained with the *ſacred bloud* of *Majeſty*, nor was the *cruelty* perpetrated upon the *Father*, ſo repented of, as to give *glory* to the God of Heaven, but it was continued upon us, and juſtified by us, in the rejecting of his whole *Royall Lyne* and *Iſſue*, and neglecting his *neceſſitated Orphans* and *Widow*, although by *profeſſion* we owned our ſelves *Chriſtians*, and boaſted of a far greater *Light*, then had ſhone upon any of our *Anceſtors* or *Predeceſſors*. Yet among them, (in a time not much removed from *Paganiſme*) perjured *Harold* permitted *Edgar* (the true Heir of the *Crown*) to injoy a large part of his *Eſtate* and *Revenue*, and to retain the *title* and *command* of *Earle* of *Oxford*, one of

his *subordinate titles*, had he been *Crowned KING*, as *Harold* by *Oath* engaged to *Edward* the *Confessor*, he would see performed, when *Edgar* came to years, and in the mean time himself would only assume the *Title*, exercise the *Office*, and execute the *Charge*, of *Guardian* or *Protector* of him during his *minority*, notwithstanding which, *perjuriously* he himself Usurped the *Crown*, Deposing the right *Heir*, howbeit, left him the *Title* and *Dignity* of *Earle* of *Oxford*, with a large *Revenue*, so farre was he from conspiring against his *life*, though he aspired (unjustly contrary to his *Oath*) to his *Crown*.

But among us (Saints by *profession*, enjoying the greatest *light*, which ever appeared since the *Apostles* time) is found *Harold's perjury* exceeded *fourfold*, and his *cruelty* a *thousand fold*: For besides one Oath of *Allegiance*, and another of *Supremacy* given to all, also another *Oath* sutable to the former, at Admission to sit in *Parliament*; the *Authority* of *England* (which was subordinate to the *King*) in order to manage a War against him, with whom they were called to *consult*, and to whom, and his *Queen*, (with his whole *Royal Issue*) they were *sworn* to be true, to preserve his *person*, and to maintain, and defend his just *legal priviledges*, of themselves formed,

and

and took a *Vow* and *Proteſtation*, proteſting their *integrity* in theſe intentions before the whole World, and appealing to *God* as *Witneſſe* and *Judge* of their intentions and actions, according to the tenor of that *ſacred Proteſtation*. After which they made, and took a *Solemn League and Covenant*, entring into it with lifted up hands to the moſt high God, nor took they it only themſelves, (both *Lords* and *Commons*) but preſſed it, and compelled it, upon all in *Office*, both *Religious* and *Civil*, upon penalty of being ejected in caſe of refuſall. Yet theſe *Vowes*, *Oaths* and *Covenants*, not being regarded, the ſame *King* to whom they were made, (and he excelling all that went before him for *piety*, and exemplary *unblameableneſſe of life*) was *murdred* (Oh dreadfull to be remembred) at his *own Gate*, and his *Heir* not only made uncapable to ſucceed him, but not allowed out of his large *Princely Revenues*, the *leaſt relief*, nor any of his *hereditary ſubjects* permitted to contribute ought to his *maintenance*, nor allowed publiquely to doe that for him, which *Chriſt* commands us to do for our *Enemies*, viz. *to pray for him*. This *prevarication* (at firſt) was not *National*, nor *Univerſal* in the *Parliament*, but brought about by the Helliſh Policy of a few *peſtilent*

infernal Agents, and fomented by *turbulent spirits*, yet through the judgement of God, these *prevaricators* being only an *inconsiderable bit*, or more properly the *Fagge-end* or *Snuffe* of the *Commons House*, known every where (for these many Moneths last past) by the Name of the *Rotten RUMP*, struck such a terror into the whole Nation, being backed with a powerfull *Apostate Army*, that most in silence only shook their heads at these *Transactions*, by which means, all who appeared to oppose them *vigorously*, lost either *Estate*, or *Life*, or both. Being thus by our own *wickednesse* unsetled both in *Church* and *State*, our *Overturners*, or *Destroyers* of *Foundations*, attempted many wayes to come to a *Settlement*, but laying the *sandy Foundation* of *bloud*, *cruelty*, *unmercifullnesse*, and *oppression*, their *Building* was still shook, and fell with every *storm*

Being thus tossed like a *Ship* in a *Tempest*, or a *Ball* in a *large Country*, God was pleased to adde *impoverishment* to our *unsettlement*, suffering us to be turned, and wiped, like a *Dish*, untill nothing at last be left sticking upon it; our *Usurped Governors* alwayes wanting a *potent* Army to keep the People obedient to them by *force*, who hated them for their *unfaithfull betraying* the *trust* reposed

in

in them, this *Army* neceſſitated the continuance of *Taxes*, though no cauſe appeared of keeping ſo great a Force on foot, or in employment, (but only to inſlave the Nation) in ſenſe of which Miſery, and ſeeing no hopes of end otherwiſe, many contrived to free themſelves and the Nation underhand, by raiſing a Force to *countermand* the other, but God ſo ordering it, that all thoſe means proved ineffectual, conducing to, and bringing to paſſe nothing, but the encreaſe of the *Uſurpers* feats, which cauſed the raiſing more Forces, and they impoveriſht the (almoſt *bankrupted*) Nation each day more and more, beſides the conſtant ruine of *Eſtate*, and often loſſe of *life* which attended, and was brought upon ſuch as endeavoured the Nations Redemption, and fell out ſo frequently, that *two Thirds* of the true Owners of *Eſtates* in the Nation, were joynt ſufferers in this publique *Calamity*.

Being brought into this *Wilderneſſe*, and all means of *deliverance*, (unleſs miraculous) appearing in a manner quite cut off, it pleaſed God, beyond *humane* expectation, to give us in this *Valley* of *Achor*, a Dore of *hope*, raiſing up your *Excellency*, and ſo guiding your *Counſells*, (he being the great *Counſellor*) and

and raising your *undanted spirit* beyond *difficulties*, and so wonderfully making your way *even* before you, that we may in all these *Transactions* of *Providence*, see, admire, and adore God in the *Mount*, who knoweth how, and when, and by what Instrument to bring Redemption to his People, to his *Holy Name*, as is his due, we desire all *honour*, and *glory* may be given, and that your excellency may be owned, and for ever acknowledged, as a matchlesse instrument, in this our strange, unexpected, and scarcely to be paralleld deliverance.

How will Generations to come, and children yet unborn have cause to blesse you, and God for you, to eternize your memory with prayses, and thankfully make mention of your truly *Pious deserts*? How happy shall that *County* be that brought you forth, and the *Town* in which you drew your first breath concerning which it will be said, many ages yet to come. The Noble *Generall MONCK*, his Countries deliverer, was born here, Undoubtedly most *Heroick Soul*, what Christ said of *Mary*, in its kind will be veryfied concerning you, and this (never sufficiently to be extolled) gallant service of yours in behalf of your *gasping Country*, wherever this *Nation* hereafter shall be mentioned by any *Historian*,

this

this ſervice of yours will likewiſe be remembred, to your deſerved, never dying Honor, and immortall Glory. Goe on moſt *Renowned Commander* in theſe gallant endeavours of yours, and the Lord God bleſſe you out of *Zion*, grant your *requeſt*, and give you to ſee the moſt happy accompliſhment of this your truely *pious atchievement*, and *Enterprize*. Yea I doubt not but he who put it into your heart to begin, and gave you the courage to go on ſo farre, will alſo proſper you, and give ſucceſs to your undertakings, ſo as by your means to accompliſh them. See I pray and obſerve the *incouragements* which God hath given you ſince your firſt breaking the *Ice* in this behalf; How unanimouſly the *City* honours and reſpects you, and how all *Counties* eccho back thoſe *deſerved prayſes* of yours, which are from hence founded forth all the *Nation* over. On the other hand, how did the *Rumpers* deſign to make your *Excellency* an inſtrument to put in execution their *odious commands*, and perform their *dirty ſervices* againſt the *honourable famous Metropolis* of *England*, (*London*) and then to have diſcharged you at leiſure, and left you to the fury of an *oppreſſed inraged people*. But God gave your *Excellency* both *wiſdome* and *reſolution*, to diſcover firſt and then to prevent theſe their *curſed deſigns*, and

and hath returned the hate thereof upon the justly deserving Authors, and *Commanders* of the same to be indispensably put in execution. Here was mercy almost to a *miracle*, to both your *Honours* self and these three bleeding, *distracted*, *unsetled*, yea almost quite destroyed *Nations*. So that now the Scene is altred, and the *Nobility*, and *Gentry*, *Yeomen*, *Farmers*, and *Country people*, so honour the mention of your name, as if it were of some *heavenly Messenger*, or *deliverer*, immediately sent from God himself: The *Citizens* so prize you that they think no love too dear for you, nor expressions thereof too great; but all (except some few troublesome raging *Sectarys*) would in a manner pull out their very eyes to serve you. This (my Lord) is a call from God himself to your *Excellency*, that as you have happily begun, so (by means of the *already convened Parliament*, which in few daies is to begin its sessions) you may be instrumentall in the great work of setling these *Nations*, once more upon a sure *Basis* of lasting peace and settlement.

England, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, call to you with stretched forth Arms, (not in a dream as the man of *Macedonia* did *Paul*, but waking, in affectionate addresses,) and sigh forth their desires & groan out their wants before

your

your *Excellency*, ſaying, *come help us*, We are but as water ſpilt upon the ground which cannot be gathered up again, becauſe the *baniſhed* is not called back from *exile*, nor the heir reſtored to his right, we were robd (my Lord) of our *King*, (not legally deprived of him) by ſuch who uſurped the *Title* and *Authority*, of the *ſupream power* of *England*, but upon examination, were found not to be ſo, but were proved *Lyars*, we crave him, in whom we al have an intereſt, which yet we never forfeited, however we were oppreſt in it by the *audacious impiety* of the *Rumpers*. Now then what hinders, but he may be reſtored to us, and we to the enjoyment of him? My Lord we beg humbly your aſſiſtance herein, and bleſſed be God we find ſuch incouragement, and reſolution, both from your excellency, and your officers, together with the unanimous Conſent of your whole Army, *viz.* that you will acquieſce ſubmiſſively in the determination and reſolution of the Parliament, Bleſſed be God who hath put ſuch a determination in the heart of the *General* and ſuch a concurring agreement in the whole Army, That we once more find an *Army* acquieſcing in the reſolves of, not preſcribing work, and giving Lawes to the Parliament. This next to God is to be attributed to the prudence, and upright

upright heartednesse of the *Generall*, in whom these three *Nations* have already begun to be, and I hope, (nay I question not) will in due time be made (under God) compleatly happy. For my part, considering to what a height of *malepert unrulyness*, the souldiery in *England* had arrived, in these almost twelve years of *Apostasy* and *Rebellion*, (which was grown very familiar to most) I seriously protest that I wonder, so much toward settlement could possibly be performed in these *Nations* in so little time, considering how many and great *Commanders* in the *Army*, differ as much from the pious Principles of his *Excellency* the Lord Generall, and the submissive truly Christian temper of his under *Officers*, as light doth from darkness, by which is (more then ordinarily) confirmed that true saying of the *Poet*

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

My Lord, *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the neighbouring *Nations* take notice, and we who are concerned desire gratefully to acknowledge, the great difficulties, and *intricate perplexities* God hath carryed your *Excellency* through, in order to the bringing to passe what we see. From whose high *merits* the

he fiery ſpirited friends to the *Rump* would detract and aſperſe you with *unfaithfulneſs* to them, from whom you received a *Commiſſion*. We all know (that are ſober) what you did, and how they ingaged your honour in diſhonourable pieces of ſervice, we know how your Excellencie declared againſt the force that lay upon them; through the ambition of *Lambert*, *Deſborough*, *Fleetwood*, and other aſpiring *Army grandees*, and that if any other force lay upon them, ſo as to render them not a *Free Parliament*, you would endeavour to remove it, This your excellency fully performed, when you reſtored the *ſecluded Members* to liberty of ſitting; without excluding forcibly the worſt deſerving *Rumper*, nor could it have been made good otherwiſe. The *Rumpers* once layed the blame of the *Members ſeclufion*, on the *Rebellious Mutinous Army*, by whoſe means and power it is certaine that was firſt effected: however ſince it appeared, to be a plot of the fagge end of the *Commons Houſe*, with the rebellious Grandees of the *Army*, who would be under no yoak. None that was wiſe could expect other from your *Excellency*, who was once one who hazarded your life in actuall defenſe of his Majeſty. Now my Lord, I reſpect your *excellency* as ſo grave, *wiſe*, and *judicious*, that you

you would not engage *Life*, *fortune*, *reputation*, and all that was dear to you, but where you were conscientiously satisfied of the *Justice* of the *Cause*. Yea and the worst of your Honors friends own, that you continued to his *Majesty* actively or passively constant, beyond being compelled, or wonne by force or flattery, so long as his *Majesty* had either hopes, or any visibly appearing on his side. But after when all was lost, had you followed him with the rest into *Exile*, you could have been but a burthen, at least no advantage to his *Majesty* or his friends could have come thereby; But as *Hushai Davids* friend pretending to stand for *Absalon*, defeated (for *David*) the counsil of *Achitophel*, yet did nothing but what became a pious honest man, and *faithfull Subject*, and *friend*. So your *Excellency*, by taking command of an *Army* after the Warwas ended, with a resolution stil never to fight againſt his *Majesty*, by managing also the *Navy* as *Admirall* againſt the *Dutch*, and *Spaniard*, by leading an Army in *Ireland* againſt the *Rebels*, and in *Scotland* with an Army, Governing the Nation with wisdome, and in peace; you have been made under God instrumentall to doe that in order to a true firm *settlement without bloud*, which for above these twelve years hath been prayed for without

answer

anſwer, and endeavoured in vain, with the loſs of the lives of many, and the eſtates of thouſands. This is the Lords doing, for which your *Excellency* deſerves by a *Statue of Braſſe, and a Monument of Marble*, to be made famous to all poſterity. I know the ſame Soul lodgeth in your *Noble Breſt*, now as did then, the ſame Loyall bloud runs in your veins, and I am aſſuredly confident, that ſo ſoone as intereſts can be ſo reconciled, and pacified, as that between his *Royall Majeſty*, and his *Subjects*, (who by ſufferings have learned Wiſdome, to prize a good pious *Prince* for the future) there may be no jealouſie, on either ſide, there will be no obſtacle remaining to hinder our long wayted for happineſſe. In hope and certain expectation of which, I ſhall, and I doubt not but all ſober men in theſe three Nations will wait for the two Houſes determination, and I beſeech God, that all difficulty may vaniſh before the *Parliament*, which is now ſhortly to ſit, as ſmoake is driven away and diſappeares before a ſmart gale of wind, or as ſnow melts before the Sunne ſo let all obſtructing diſputes (I beſeech God) waſt away to nothing.

AND thus, *Noble*, and *Honourable Senators*, I am brought in Order to addreſſe my ſelf unto your *pious Wiſdome*, and *Religious Diſcretion*, having already made an acknowledgement to his *Excellency* the *Generall*, for two Cauſes, Firſt, becauſe he (under God) was the *immediate* and next *cauſe* of this your *Convention*, to the diſappointment of the *Rumpers*, who intended this laſt time to have *Exhorted* the Nation, and made us their *ſervants* for Ever. But eſpecially becauſe of his *performances* we have already had the *taſte*, and (in a great meaſure) *fruition*; but the good to be reaped from your *Honourable Conſultations*; is yet in expectation, to you therefore I addreſſe my ſelf as an *humble Suitor*, and yet *Confident Petitioner*, but to his *Excellency* thanks is already due, for a large portion of benefits which we have received of him in this kinde: To which I may adde, that this being *written*, and intended to be *publiſhed* before your Seſſion, *Reaſon* and *Order* call for it, that I ſhould in the firſt place addreſſe my ſelf to the *Power* in being (eſpecially of whoſe *good* we have ſo largely taſted) and next to the *Power* which is in Expectation ſhortly after.

My

My Addreſſe Right Honourable and Worthy *Patriots* to you is, to intreat you, (not becauſe I in the leaſt doubt your own moſt ready *inclination* thereto) to ſet your ſelves ſeriouſly to the *healing* of our *breaches*. Yea I know you will do it, however it will not be amiſſe, nor I hope interpreted *peremptorineſſe*, for me your *faithfull Homourer*, to ſubmit a few Conſiderations to your moſt *judicious cenſure*, firſt inviting to a *ſettlement* upon our *Ancient Baſis*, and only firm Foundation, not barely *Kingly Government*, but our moſt Vertuous *King Charles* the Second, (to whom God grant a long and proſperous *Reign*) whoſe Reſtitution I hope, and pray for, and doubt nothing (*Right Honourable Senators*) but by your means to ſee accompliſhed. But Secondly, giving your Honours the *grounds* why I with it may be effected and brought to paſſe as ſoon as poſſible. I ſhall after conclude this Diſcourſe, humbly begging that the great God of Heaven would give you *wiſedome*, and *courage*, that He who ſitteth among the *Gods*, may ſit among you, directing and guiding you in the *ready way* to ſettle theſe Nations in firm *peace*, that *Religion* may be countenanced and flouriſh, our *Rights* as *Men*, and *Chriſtians*, aſſerted, vindicated, and preſerved, to the

glory of God, and the *comfort* of all that fear him, in all three *Kingdomes*.

This, Right Honourable *Lords* and *Gentlemen*, can be no way brought about but by *restoring* the *true Heir* to his Inheritance, all other wayes or means, are but only *suggestions* of the Adversaries of the Nations happinesse, who would continue things in *unsettlement*, on purpose only to secure and indemnifie themselves from *deserved justice*. Consider (I beseech you) how many *projects* have been contrived towards our Settlement, upon different Foundations, which all proved *sandy*, and so the Building thereon raysed, (though cemented with *Blood* and *Rapine*) soon fell, and we were ever put after each *Change* upon greater *straits*, and left in *worse confusion*, then we suffered before. So that the change of our *Medicaments*, and *Physicians*, in order to the Recovery of this *sick State*, hath been far worse than our *Disease* it self, the one causing us to languish in *unsettlement*, the other accelerating our *Destruction*, and threatning our *utter Ruine*.

Which must needs be attributed to the *Justice* of God, who hath forsaken us, because we forsook him. He hath seen and beheld all the *guilt* under which this Nation lyes,

lyes, and if for *two Tranſgreſſions*, and for *three*, the Holy and Righteous God, would not turn away the *puniſhment* of ſeveral all Nations, what ſhall be done to us for *ſeven* crying Sins? yea rather for *ſeven times ſeven* Abominations? How have *Rebellion* and *Treaſon*, *Perjury*, *Perfidiouſneſſe*, and *Murther*, *Hypocriſie* and *Sacrilege*, beſides all ſorts of *Hereſies*, *profaneneſſe*, *beaſtlineſſe*, *unmercifulneſſe*, *cruelty*, and *oppreſſion*, reigned in theſe Nations, and raged (as if) in contempt of *Heaven*? How hath *blood* touched *blood*? How have the *Rumpers*, and after them the *Uſurping Protector*, filled *London*, and the whole Land with *Innocent Blood*? the cry of which is come up to Heaven? and there calls aloud for *Vengeance*? But now at laſt God in unſpeakable mercy hath ſeemed to return to us, and as a Father doth offer in love to embrace us, to him be the praiſe. In anſwer of whoſe ſo great tenders of favour, and future bleſſing, give me leave, Honorable and Worthy Patriots, to grone forth my moſt *affectionate deſires* before your Wiſdoms. The cauſe of our long continued *Calamities*, hath been, and is unqueſtionably a ſpirit of *ungratefulneſſe* toward a ſignally *gracious God*, and a ſpirit of *Rebellion* toward his *Vicegerent* on Earth the *KING*, alſo a ſpirit of *pro-*

faineſſe, in contemning his *Worſhip*, and *Service*, together with the *Miniſters* and *Diſpenſers* of the ſame. This wicked ungodly ſpirit like a fertile, (although *accurſed*) Root, hath brought forth *numerous branches* of ſuch *crying ſins*, which at this day are to be found among us, and formerly have been practiſed, and remain yet unrepented for. Now moſt Worthy *Senators*, it behoves you ſeriouſly, ſolemnly, and induſtriouſly to endeavour a *Nationall* amendment, of theſe *Nationall Abominations*: Nor is it enough to bewaile the *guilt*, but by amendment, and reſtitution, we muſt endeavour to wipe away the *blot*, and expunge the *ſtain* contracted. The *Villany* committed againſt the *Father*, and his *Off-ſpring*, who was the *Father* of theſe Nations, was committed upon a *Nonill pretenſe*, and therefore it behoves it ſhould be *Nationally* diſclaimed. In that act God was highly provoked by *Oathes*, *Vowes* and *Covenants*, not more *ſacredly* made, and *ſolemnly* taken and entred into, but as *periuriouſly* broken in the face of the *Sun*, yet the *periury* juſtified and defended, under the Cloak and pretenſe of *Religion*.

(*Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum.*)

My

My Lords and Gentlemen, you are the *Succeſſors* of that *Parliament*, and many of you the very perſons that ſate therein; It behoves you now to teſtifie openly, and effectually againſt this *treacherous*, *perfidious perjury*, which ended in *blood*, or elſe you will be found *Juſtifiers* of the ſame. Gods wrath is not to be appeaſed without hearty *contrition*, and *repentance* of theſe ſins for time paſt, and an *amendment* for future, which *Amendment* muſt be anſwerable unto that *prævarication*, wherewith God was, and is provoked, elſe the *Plaiſter* will be too narrow for the *Sore*. Conſider my Lords and Gentlemen, our *fault* in all its *branches*, *Ingratefulneſſe* towards, and *periury* againſt *God*, *Apoſtaſie* from our *Religious profeſſion*, to the toleration of all *Hereſies* and *Blaſphemies*, and *perfidiouſneſſe* unto, *Rebellion* from, with *contempt* and *rejection* of our *Liege King*, and his *Poſterity*, contrary to *Duty*, *Oaths* and *Proteſtations*, this muſt be *adequately* repented of, and ſatisfaction, reparation and reſtitution made to parties injured, if ever we expect Gods return to us in *mercy*, and not a Viſitation in *judgement*.

For with *Majeſty* many thouſands were injured in the *higheſt degree*, to whom if (at leaſt) *juſtice* be not done for the future, and

an acknowledgement of, and taking shame for what is past, (where *reparation* cannot be made) God without a *miracle*, can, and no doubt will make use of these, to be the *Executors* of his *Vengeance* and *fierce displeasure* against this Nation, who then would be not only here and there bespotted, but over head and ears plunged in those *crying sinnes*, which the Lord (who is *true* and *just*) hath declared he will not pardon. But, *Noble Senators*, I am confident God will give you that *wisdome*, and *true piety*, that you will *effectually* wash your own *hands*, and I hope, cleanse the whole *Nation* (in generall) from these *crying*, Land *destroying*, State *overwhelming impieties*, by laying the *fault* and *guilt* upon those who are really *guilty* of the same. That so once more our *Foundations* may be layd, and we may be established in *Righteousnesse*: That this long afflicted, shattered Nation, may once more take root *downwards*, and shoot forth branches, and bear fruit *upward*, to the glory of God and the reviving, heart refreshing joy of all those who fear him.

For this end I humbly begge of God in your behalf, and am (with good hope) perswaded, that these *Two Houses* will not undertake the *Patronage* of the *grand Causes* of

of all our *paſt*, and ſtill *continued calamities*, by deſiring a generall Act of *Amneſty*, which will neither be for Gods *glory*, nor yet for our *ſettlement*: It will skin over the *ſore*, leaving it full of *corruption* in the bottome. For the Lords ſake I pray heartily, that your Wiſdomes may be kept free, from making your ſelves *guilty* of that *innocent blood* both of *Majeſty*, and ſeverall others, which lies yet only at the *Rumpers* dore, and thoſe who were *Members* of that *Monſtrous Slaughter-houſe*, the *High Court of Juſtice*, nor upon all of them alike; for many I conceive to be free from all *malice*, and known ſhedding of *innocent blood*; but only *deluded* and *deceived* by the *inſnaring devices* of the *chief Contrivers*; whoſe *impiety* as it amazeth my *ſpirit*, ſo it ſtaggers my *Rhetorick*, that I cannot finde out *fit expreſſions* to ſuit their *execrable deſerts*. *Blood* defiles a *Land*, nor can it be cleanſed from it, but by the *blood* of thoſe who *ſhed* it. Becauſe *Manaſſeh* ſhed *Innocent blood* much, ſo that he filled *Jeruſalem* with it, therefore the Lord would not pardon *Iſrael* from going into *Captivity*. The *ſins* of thoſe in Authority (*blood* eſpecially) is oft (almoſt ever) puniſhed by *Nationall miſeries*, the whole Nation bleeding largely oft times for the

the *bloud* of a few *innocent persons*, whose *bloud* is not *publiquely* required and avenged. *Manasseh* had shed *innocent bloud* much, which the Lord would not pardon, although *Manasseh* had been carryed Captive into *Babylon*, and there (as to himself) repented his *Idolatry*, *Murthers* and other *Abominations*. *Josiah* also followed him, a holy tender-hearted *Prince*, who restored the *worship* of God to its *purity*, and made such a *Reformation*, as none ever did before him nor after him, of whom it is testified, to his *Immortal prayse*, that no *King* was ever like him in *Jerusalem*, yet for the *bloud-shed* of *Manasseh*, the *Captivity* should not be turned away, God would not pardon it. Doubtlesse many of the Nation were Instrumentall in shedding this *bloud*, some as *false witnesses*, others as *Executioners*, whom *Manasseh* (when he repented) or his *Son* and *Successor*, good *Josiah*, ought to have rewarded with *bloud*, (without which *Justice* the Nation is not cleansed from the *guilt* thereof) for want of which (in probability) most holy, unparalel'd *Josiah* contracts a *guilt* upon himself and the *Nation*, for which he in the flowre of his Youth falls by the hand of *Pharaoh Necho*, and all his people felt the *miseries* of *Warre*,

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My Lords, and Gentlemen, God hath given you *wiſdome*, and I humbly implore his *Divine Majeſty* in your behalf, that he would be your *faithfull Guide* and *Counſellour* in this particular. It was not the *actual ſinne* of the *Nation*, nor of the *Parliament* of *England*, but of a Combination of the *perjur'd*, *Treacherous* part of *England's Commoners*, with a *Rebellious Soldiery*, (whom ſome hypocriticall *grand Officers* deluded into *Rebellion* againſt that *Authority*, which raiſed, empowered, and payd them, and to whom they were *ſworn*, and *ingaged* to be true, and obediently faithfull) who plotted, contrived, and put it in execution, whom it were as much *pity* as *impiety* to ſhelter from *Juſtice*. However our *King* may truly be ſaid to be (as was ſaid of the *Kings* of *Iſrael*) a *merciſull King*. His ſweet Diſpoſition, notwithſtanding the great provocation of his Dear Father *Bloud*, I know is ſo inclined to *compaſſion*, and to *forgiveneſſe*, that I doubt not, but all Offences againſt his *Father*, and himſelf, (ſave only the wilfull malicious ſhedding *Royall innocent bloud*) he will (of himſelf) freely paſſe by; and of thoſe who had their hands imbrued therein,

therein, I doubt not, where *Charity* it self can excuse the Offendor, to be deluded, and not an Active Ring-leader, he will be more inclinable to *mercy* then *justice*: Yea, and even those whom *Mercy* it self cannot plead for, I know he will pity and weep over their causeleſſe malice, and obſtinate impenitency. Who can plead for ſuch (Worthy Senators) who *boaſt* of that at which the *Sun* even *bluſhed*, and count it their *glory* to have their hand in our (better deſerving) Kings *Bloud*? Of whom one moſt impudently ſaid, *That he reputed it his Honour, to be one, who was active therein, and would have the memory of it Eternized upon his Monument, as a moſt heroick commendable Fact.* Monſtrous Villain! of whoſe minde my ſelf have heard others! for whom what can be pleaded? Yea, my Lords and Gentlemen, pity theſe *Rumpers*, and their *Bloudhounds*, if ever they ſhewed pity to any who croſſed their *corrupt deſigns*, have regard to their Lives and Fortunes, if ever they regarded Vowes, Oaths, Covenants, Honour and Honeſty: Pity their *Poſterity*, if they themſelves do it, whom they care not to enſlave and deſtroy, while they ſecure only and indemnifie their own perſons. Endeavour to make their *peace*, if they have

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Moſt Noble Senators, the Parliaments of *England*, were, and ought to be in moſt venerable eſteeme, being the only *Phyſick* for the ſtate in diſtemper, it is next under God the ſtaffe, and beauty of the *Nation*, its ſtrength and glory. This title theſe *Rumpers* uſurped, and kild their *King*, impoſed perjurie by force upon all, and who would not actually forſwear himſelf (in imitation of them) was denyed all benefit of protection. The Villanies by them perpetrated are without preſident, only themſelves may become a preſi-

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dent for future, if by connivance at these they be countenanced, Then (for future) forty Commoners, if they can bribe a Competent force to abet, and back them may be supreme, *unking*, and *murther* their *Soveraign*, disable his *Posterity*, unhouse the *Lords*, and make their *Fellow members* (fix times their own number) uncapable of trust, power, and priviledge, both for present and future, and then what *English man* would but loath the name of *Parliaments* for ever? Your priviledges were broken, and the breakers stiled themselves the *Patriots* and *true Assertors* of the Nations liberty, now the vulgar cannot discern between the name of a thing, and the thing it self, The publick faith (given by both *Houses*) O abominable to consider! was made the byword of every *Ballad singer*. And what was the cry of the people, but the *Parliaments publicque faith* was become a publick cheat?

This my *Lords*, and *worthy Gentlemen*, must be protested against solemnly, and effectually, to the undeceiving the people, else the glory honour and reputation of *English Parliaments* is lost in *England*; till *oblivion* devour the memory of these things. Without this be done, the King (whenever by God restored, as most certainly he will be, in Gods due time

may

may well nautiate, the memory and mention of a *Parliament*, unleſſe the *Rump* be diſowned and diſclaimed as one. And ſo, if the *Prince* diſlike, and the Common people contemne and abhor, that (under God) which is the Nations *ſtrength*, *glory*, and *ſafety*, of what fatall conſequence this muſt needs be I leave to your wiſdomes maturely to judge. What remaines then, but that we conclude of the *Rump*, with like expreſſions to thoſe of *Jerubbaal*, concerning them who pleaded for *Baal*, becauſe ſome body had thrown down his *Altar*. Will ye yet plead for the *Rump*, ? Let them plead for themſelves, at the Barre of Juſtice, Will ye yet defend the *Murtherers* of the King, Lord *Capel*, Doctor *Hewit*, *&c.* with the monſtrous high Court of *Injuſtice* ? Leave them to the determination of Juſtice, and the mercy, of his incomparable *Majeſty*, the true inheritor of his Fathers Chriſtian vertues, and graces, to wit patience, compaſſion, meekneſſe, long-ſuffering, *&c.* as he is heir to his *Kingly Diadem*. Let as many as plead for the *Rump*, be put to death, in this morning of our deliverance, becauſe God by the means of his Excellency the *Lord Generall MONCK* hath thrown down their Pride, and cut off their lawleſs power, and ſo put an end to their matchleſs

fury

fury, and mercileſſe rage, proceed therefore wiſely, goe on proſperouſly (*Noble Senators*) and ſettle theſe poor confuſed Nations, call home our baniſhed, yea I know you will do it, God having inſtructed you with a high hand, walk not in the way of the *Hampers*. Obſerve the hate, ſcorn, and contempt which deſervedly lies upon them, & on the other hand the Joy, triumph, and jubile, the bone fires ringing of bels, the freeneſs of the Citizens in opening their Purſes, toward defraying publick charges, and paying his *Excellencies Army*, upon hopes given of your being convened. The expreſſions of gratitude (toward that noble inſtrument) from the *Citizens*; each Hall and Company being ambitious to entertain him and ſhew all manner of thankfulneſſe to him for his high merits, in being inſtrumentall toward your calling, and declaring his reſolved acquieſcency in your prudent determinations. All which ſpeaks to you in moſt pathetical expreſſions, Make up our breaches, Reſtore our *King*, Pity our paſt diſtractions, even almoſt unto finall deſtruction; Let us now be redeemed indeed, and ſetled upon our true and laſting foundation, Let us not be lift up to Heaven in joyfull hopes, and comfortable expectation, and then caſt down to Hell, in heart-breaking diſappointments.

My

My Lords, and Worthy Senators, you have before you to revive and restore, or to kill and destroy us, choose the former, yea blessed be God, you have chosen it and will perform it. Next to God our eyes are upon you, and we rest assured that our hopes will not make us ashamed, nor our confidence confounded in the conclusion. Let not any wicked lying spirit whisper to your selves or his *Excellency*, and find credit, that high merits with *Princes* are repayed with ruine of him, whose deserts cannot be recompensed. True, where an instrument is assisting toward the exaltation of an usurper, contrary to duty and conscience, the *Tyrant* (when seated) cannot endure him by whom he climbed, still measuring the drift of the other, by his own spirit, and knowing that none out of conscience would ever assist or set up an *Usurper*, but what is done in that way, (let the pretence be what it will) the aime is only self preferment, So that many times, an active *Rebell* aiming at his own grandeur, yet is content to truckle under another, of greater repute, and who can make better pretence then himself; still resolving, that if he can under that visor throw down lawfull power, he may after much more easily baffle him, whom he pretended to *advance*, and

ſide withall. Thus aſpiring *Oliver* did by *Fairfax*, the *Rump*, *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, *Vane*, and many others. And ſo *Lambert* aimed to have dealt with *Fleetwood*, *Deſborough*, &c. and the reſtored *Rumpers*. But his Excellencie, (neglecting ſelf intereſt) eys cordially, (we hope and confidently believe) a truly publique nationall concernment, and good, and for that end was inſtrumentall in readmitting the *ſecluded Members*, and ſo (the *Rumpers* vaſes being wiped) to *call*, *ſummon*, and *convene your Honours*, and reſolves to ſtand ſatisfied with your concluſion and determination, that envy it ſelf cannot ſay of him, that he tampers with the *Government*, which it is equally preſumption in a *Generall*, to attempt (upon his own ſcore) to ſet up, or reſtore, as to pull down or diſpoſſeſſe; This prudent management of things in ſo diſtracted a time, as it is praiſe-worthy (beyond expreſſion) ſo it is but the duty which he owes to God, and his *Country*. In performing which had he no other recompenſe the content of his own ſpirit would be *ample ſatisfaction*. But he cannot go without *thankfull reward*, having equally engaged his *Country*, with his *Prince*, from the latter of whom, I know his *generous ſpirit* expects only his *gracious acceptance*, whoſe moſt *Princely diſpoſition*, I confide will lead him to return

return the *Author deſerved Honour*. His *grateſull Country* alſo will requite his *Piety*, with all *poſſible acknowledgment*, and *perpetual celebration* of his *memory for the ſame*. It is one thing to ſerve a *Tyrant*, and *Uſurper*, and deſerve of him beyond requitall: another thing to ſerve a mans lawfull *Prince* in *lawfull things*, and *Country* together. The former by what he deſerves ſhews himſelf to be void of all *Conſcience*, and therefore may well be feared (for unleſs the *Tyrant* ſurprize, and ruine, him, he ſeldome failes doing the like for the *Tyrant*,) but here, the glory of the *All* is *ample ſatisfaction*, and the *juſtice* and *honour* of it, takes away all cauſe of *jealouſie from the King*. Who can once imagine that he who having an *Army*, and not wanting pretences to make a claim, (being of *Royall deſcent*,) ſhould in ſincere *Loyalty*, turn his eies upon him only whoſe right it is, and was, yet afterwards when things are ſetled, diſturb the publique, to ſet up his *private intereſt*? It is folly to dream of ſuch a groudleſſe ſuſpicion. Goe on therefore undauntedly (*moſt Noble Commander*, Right *Honourable Lords*, and *deſerving Senators*,) perfect by Gods help and aſſiſtance, the *Nations happineſs*, fill up, and compleat the meaſure of our joy, Oh! reſtore to us our long *exiled Prince*, and our *martyrd*

Kings whole *Princely* progeny. God hath given you an opportunity his providence hath held forth to you *ample incouragement*, all the good men in the *Nation*, in deep sense of our past misery, with longing expectation yern forth their desires, *Oh blessed, and happy Parliament*, called in a good time! (*blessed and happy* if you doe it) *Restore our King.*

Oh *delay it not!* doe it early, *words spoken in season are like Apples of gold in pictures of silver*, such were the happy words of the *Generall* in that memorable day of the first beginning of our deliverance, promising a *Free Parliament*. How did the *Bonefires* that night, in every *Street* and *lane* seeme to scare the night from overclowding our joyes? Trust me, seasonable Actions are no lesse welcome. Hope deferred is the *rack of the Soul*, whereas the accomplishing of it, (before the spirits with *long expectation* faint) is like a *tree of life*, *Bis dat, qui Cito dat.* Long deferred hopes are interpreted most *unkind*, next to *flat denyals*. We have a long time been *hopelesse* and *desperate*, and now the day of our deliverance begins to dawn, we count the minutes, and long to see the *rising Sun.*

Most Honourable Patriots, The miseries we endured under the *Rump*, together with their betraying the trust reposed in them by the people

people, their *perfidious breaking the true Parliaments* ſolemnly ingaged *publique Faith*; their baſe evading, and *violating all Articles of War*, and ſurrender their unjuſt cauſing *Iriſh adventurers* to double, or loſe their *lent moneys*, with ſeveral *ſcandalous villanies* in the name, and under the title of *Englands Parliament*, and *Supream Power*, their frequent (long winded) *interruptions*, The calling and breaking, (in the intervals of time) ſo many *mock-Juncto's*, named and ſtiled *Parliaments*, with a thouſand other ſuch *odious things*, which in theſe twelve laſt years *Villanous uſurpers* have done, and the people ſuffered, by, and in reference to, nominall *Parliaments*, have made the repute of them ſo *contemptible*, and their eſteem of ſo little value, That the honour which you have in the hearts of all men upon expectation of good, and this good from you, & by your means, will ſoon (with many) be turned into *a light eſteeme*, (*ne quid aſſerim*,) ſhould their earneſt deſire be delayd. But as the old men ſaid to *Rehoboam*, If your *wiſdome*, (God bleſſing your *Counſailes*) find a ſpeedy way of anſwering the *Nations* earneſt hopes, and almoſt *impatient expectation*, your name will be not only *famous*, but your *Perſons admired*, (even almoſt to *adoration*) and you will wipe off all that dirt, which lies upon and hath

long ſtuck to the name of *Parliaments*. Then the *Nations eyes will be opened*, to diſtinguiſh clearly a true *Engliſh Parliament*, from a *domineering Rump*, or the *miniciall mock Parliaments* ſummoned, and pickt, to ſerve an aſpiring *Uſurper*. Betimes therefore (*Noble Patriots*) begin (in *Gods name*) to make this *Nation* happy. That is, Oh! reſtore unto us our *King*.

Then ſhall the *Murther* of the *Father* lye at the *offenders doors*, and the ſinne of rebelling againſt their *King* be wiped from off our *Engliſh Parliament*, otherwiſe not, It was the *Parliament began* the *warre with the King*, which notwithſtanding al *Pretences* (according to the *Kings prophetical prediction*) Ended in the *Murther* of *Majeſty*, and extirpation of *Monarchy*, under the retained name, and perpetrated by ſome *Members*, of *Englands Parliament*; who ſtiled themſelves, the *Supream Authority* of *England*. Though I am confident, that the Warre was begun by means of a few *Incendiaries*, who did ill offices on both ſides, miſrepreſenting the *King to the people*, and *the People to the King*. A diſtance being made, by the ſame Art, and *pernicious induſtry*, the breach was made daily wider, the *Contrivers* aiming at a warre, and in it the *totall Ruine of Majeſty* and his *poſterity*, which the *King* foreſaw, but moſt

moſt of both *Houſes*, keeping to the truly loyall maxime that the *King can do no wrong*, Endeavoured only to *reſcue the Kings perſon* from *bad Counſellers*. And when the Warre in earneſt began, they made a *Vow* and *Proteſtation*, as alſo a *League and Covenant*, which they took, and entred into, and ſet up in all *Churches* as a witneſſe againſt themſelves, of the ſincerity of their intentions as to the *King* and his *Royall branches*, gave thanks ſolemnly (after *Battailes*) for the preſervation of him, and his *Children*, owned all their *Armies* raiſed for his defenſe, and his name, and commiſſionated them for the mutual *defenſe of King* and *Parliament*, for the maintenance of the *Liberty*, and *Priviledges of the people*, and their repreſetatives in *Parliament*; as alſo the true *Proteſtant Religion*. And when in *zeal* they had been incenſed againſt his *Majeſty*, (whom peſtilent prevaricating *Rebels* had repreſented as obſtinate and ſtubborn.) and had been too exacting upon his good nature, and were unſatisfied with his conceſſions which were, even beyond what could be in reaſon expected, or without impudence deſired, and all this done, through ſuſpicions, fears, and jealouſies rayſed by the *Rumpers*, in order to cut off all hopes of accommodation, no ſooner did the Cordially *loyall* diſcern this, but they relented

relented in their spirit, towards him (too much injuriously grated upon, yet patiently long suffering) *Majestie*, then loe! the *rebellious Rumpers*, unmasked themselves, and shew themselves as they were. Upon this the residue whom false surmises had led aside, to uncharitable *thoughts of the King*, now find their error, and how they were deluded, and then what indignation? what zeal? what *clearing themselves*? what washing their hands of, and protesting against their (once *selves members*) monstrous impieties? that in all things they shewed themselves innocent and free from the bloud of their *innocent (sacred) Soveraign*. However the mystery of *Rebellion* and *Treason* began to work from the beginning of that *Parliament Session*, though not perceived by the zealously incensed, truly *Loyall members*, whom the underhand *pestilent Rumpers*, deluded by fair words, and false suggestions, and set against their *King*, as crafty *Ziba*, by fained accusations and pretenses provoked holy *David* against good *Mephibosheth*, to the unjust giving away from him all his land, to this false accusing Servant. However the darksighted vulgar cannot see this, nor will they ever come to be convinced of the truth of things herein, unlesse your honours make up the breaches which the *Rumpers* made, by

that

that *practicall argument* convincing the *people* that you disown their *Tenents*.

My Lords, let the *dignity* of the thing it self prevail with your *Noble Spirits*. Mr. *Milton*, to vilifie *Regall Government*, is so bold, as to affirm, *That a KING (if good) can doe no more then another man*: When as it is apparent, that *Davids* Subjects valued him at ten thousand of themselves, and the *Scripture* promiseth *KINGS* (in the last dayes) to be given as *Nursing Fathers*, and *Queens* for *Nursing Mothers* to the *Church*: And that *KINGS* shall bring their *glory* and *honour* to the *Heavenly Jerusalem*, as an Accomplishment of her *splendor* and *lustre*. A thing not promised to any ten thousand other persons, nor are so many private men, nor can they be capable of it. Behold a good, a pious, patient, truly Christian, Protestant *Prince*, yet a man of *Valour* and *Courage*, although made up of *meekness* and *clemency*, who may lead us and conduct us in *Warre*, and preserve us in *Peace*. How have the *Rumpers* ecchoed to their *Usurping Protector* in mannaging a costly, foolish, unprofitable *Warre* with *Spain*, to the *ruine* almost, and *losse* of the *Nations Trade*, and the beggering of severall thousand *Families*, only to satisfie his, and their Lusts and Animosities, in which

which *Warre* beſides we loſe *three* for *one*? Whereas a true *Father* of his *Country*, would ſooner empty his own *Veins* of *blood*, then exhauſt his *Subjects Purſes*, for no *apparent* cauſe, and to no *beneficial* end. We have had tryall of *Vſurpers* even to *diſtraction*, almoſt to *deſtruction*. Oh! now at laſt, reſtore to us our *true Prince* and *Governour*, *CHARLES* our *King*: The excellency of whoſe *temper*, and height of whoſe *deſerts*, as they render him truly more deſirable, ſo they make him of more value then ten thouſand common men. Let the worthineſſe of the *Subject* plead for the *maturity* of your *care*. And the *great God*, who is only able to direct guide and counſell you, be your *Counſellor* and *ſtay*: That ſo once more being ſetled upon the Foundation of *Truth* and *Righteouſneſſe*, our *periury*, *murder*, and *oppreſſion* being repented of, and the *oppreſſed* relieved, we may all have cauſe of *ſolid* and *laſting joy*, which is the *Earneſt Prayer*,

Moſt honourable Lords,

And worthy Senators,

Of your Cordiall Honours,

And moſt humble Orator,

G. S.

THE CONCLUSION, TO His *Royall*, most *Excellent*, *Sacred* MAJESTY.

THus having, most *judicious*, truly *pious*, and most accomplished *Prince*, performed this *defense* of *Regall Government* and *Authority*, against an *acute*, although *scurrilous Antagonist*, whose *Reproaches* of, and *impious falshoods* concerning your *Majesties* most *glorious Predecessor*, and *Royall Father*, I have wiped off, and discovered the *Impiety* therein, of him who cast them. Likewise, having addressed my self to those in Power, (of whose good will we have already had *Comfortable Earnest*) to stirre them

them up, to the speedy Restauration of your most deserving and desired Person and Family, to your undoubted birthright, and inheritable, upon honourable termes; as the only way (under God) of putting a period to our *Long suffered miseries, calamities*, and *distractions*, and setling us upon the happy foundation of *Peace, righteousness, religion*, and *true*, (not *nominall*) *Liberty*. Duty now commands and engageth me, humbly to lay down these my inconsiderable labours, at your *Majesties Royal* feet, and to submit them to your *most judicious censure*. The test of which far be it from me, fondly to imagine that these *trivial Lines* can abide. However from your most accurate censure, I fly to your most *gracious Princely disposition*, craving your favourable acceptance of the will, and desire, I had sincerely to serve your *most just Royall Interest*, that so I may be esteemed in your *Gracious breast*, according to my truly *loyall, most cordiall intentions*, and not my weak, and every way *Inconsiderable performance*. (*In magnis voluisse sat est*) Pardon also (*I humbly begge of your most gracious Majesty*) this double presumption, of daring to trouble your more *serious thoughts*, with my no way *valuable Lines* in comparison to your other many, most weighty, *important, Princely Affairs*, since this last boldnes

boldneſs is abſolutely neceſſary in conſideration of the former, it being no way excuſable; having begun my Addreſſe to the *Sun* of *Majeſty*, to end the ſame, in Application to any *Starre* of leſſer magnitude. To you therefore (moſt *incomparable Prince*, and *Soveraign*) as I humbly *dedicated* and *preſented*, ſo I *recommend* this *inconſiderable mite* of my *ſervice*, to you it is due, were it of the *greateſt worth*: However (as it is) be pleaſed to accept it, and in it let your truly *Divine*, *Princely goodneſſe*, cover all *defects*, and *imperfections*, and receive it (I beſeech you) as a teſtimony of his moſt *Cordiall devotion* to your *ſervice*, with all poſſible *performance*, to the utmoſt of his *ability*, to which he is *truly*, and *conſcientiouſly* obliged, and conſtantly reſolved to ſtand *immovably firm*, in all *ſubmiſſive Loyalty*, and *inviolable fidelity*, who is,

My LIEGE,

Your Majeſties unworthy,

moſt humble Orator,

G. S.

FINIS.

Books printed, and are to be sold by *William Palmer* at the *Palm-tree* in *Fleetstreet*, neer St. *Dunstans* Church.

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Reader,

Reader, be pleased to correct these following Errors of the Presse with thy pen.

PAg. 4. *lin.* 24. read of these, *p.* 11. *l.* 5. *r.* Yeomen, *p.* 13. *l.* 13. *r.* Laws, *p.* 19. *l.* 12. *r.* then, *l.* 16. *r.* inferior, *p.* 21. *l.* 28. *r.* whence, *p.* 26. *l.* 4. *r.* the Jewes, *p.* 33. *l.* 12. *r.* to it, *p.* 36. *l.* 16. *r.* gave, *p.* 40. *l.* 25. *r.* lost, *p.* 42. *l.* 13. *r.* lost, *l.* 14. *r.* called, *p.* 43. *l.* 2. *r.* Law, *p.* 44. *l.* 21. *r.* of, *p.* 51. *l.* 12. *r.* and stained, *p.* 52. *l.* 4. *r.* not, *p.* 58. *l.* 11. *r.* the *English* people against *Salmasius*, *l.* 27. *r.* compulsion, *p.* 59. *l.* 2. *r.* give, *p.* 66. *l.* 11. *dele* and, *p.* 68. *l.* 3. *r.* had, *l.* 13. *r.* adjudged, *l.* 26. *r.* silent, *p.* 71. *l.* 6. *r.* the, *l.* 8. *r.* Syrus, *l.* 28. *dele* and, *p.* 72. *l.* 8, 9, 10. the stops are misplaced, *p.* 73. *l.* 8. *r.* think, *p.* 74. *l.* 14. *r.* Abram, *p.* 78. *l.* 7. *r.* Israel, *p.* 85. *l.* 9. *r.* untill, *p.* 86. *l.* 25. *r.* intituled, *p.* 87. *l.* 5. *r.* of the Jews, *p.* 88. *l.* 3. *r.* ascension, *l.* 14. *r.* disallowes, *p.* 93. *l.* 18. *r.* et absurda, *p.* 100. *l.* 2. *r.* former condition, *p.* 104. *l.* 5. *r.* goodly, *p.* 109. *l.* 9. *r.* Heirs, *p.* 111. *l.* 3. *r.* generous, *p.* 112. *l.* 13. *r.* *Salmasius*, *p.* 115. *l.* 9. *r.* *Saumaise*, *l.* 17. *r.* Expedition, *p.* 133. *l.* 9. *r.* untill, *p.* 138. *l.* 12. *r.* distraction, *p.* 146 *l.* 16. *r.* on Church, *p.* 159. *l.* 5. *r.* it, *p.* 180. *l.* 17. *r.* happy, *p.* 185. *l.* 9. *r.* ordered. And if there be any literal faults which have slipt my correction, which the Reader at first sight cannot but observe, be pleased to correct it, and with candor attribute it to oversight. *Farewell.*

From my Study,
Mar. 29. 1660.

FINIS.